

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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The contents of the NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW are indexed in the *Engineering Index Service*, the *Index to Legal Periodicals*, the *International Index to Periodicals* and in *Public Affairs Information Service*.

The League's Business

Executive Committee Meets

The Executive Committee of the National Municipal League met May 28 at the League office with the following present: Richard S. Childs, William Collins, Charles Edison and Carl H. Pforzheimer. Alfred Willoughby, executive secretary, and John Venable, assistant to Mr. Edison, also were present.

Plans for the 1948 National Conference on Government November 22-24 at Boston were discussed, payment of dues to the American Committee for the International Union of Local Authorities was authorized and the auditor's report for the year 1947 was accepted.

Mr. Collins, finance chairman, reported on the progress of the financing program, citing the need to recruit additional local and state finance chairmen.

Recognition Here and There

An editorial by Margaret Hickey in the Public Affairs Department of the June *Ladies' Home Journal* discussed the current great civic revival and the National Municipal League's relation to it as "a clearing house for the troubles of communities suffering from poor government."

This is one of many recent examples of favorable mention of the League and its accomplishments in important publications. In view of the large circulations of these publications, it may be assumed that the League has been brought to the attention of a considerable part of the population.

An editorial in *Life* referred to the League as a source of civic information; *Coronet*, with an article entitled "Does Your Town Need a City Manager," advised "First, get factual ammunition from the National Municipal League," etc.; *This Week* magazine, a supplement of 15,000,000 or more Sunday newspapers, published a story entitled "Terror in the U. S. A." which told of the civic revolution in Augusta, Georgia, mentioning the League's coaching and technical help; *Reader's Digest* republished from the REVIEW the article "Why Don't More Americans Vote?" by Vice President George H. Gallup; *New Republic* had an article entitled "Bosses Leave Town" which identified the League as the key organization in civic revivals.

Newspapers from the *Anchorage (Alaska) Times* to the *New York Times* have made mention of the League. The Memphis *Press-Scimitar* called the League "a congregation of leading citizens who support good local and state government"; the New Brunswick *Home News* said "the League's record in helping the people to establish more honest, more efficient and more economical local governments is outstanding," and the Richmond *Times Dispatch* called the League "a first rate organization" and "one of the agencies which has done most to promote good local government."

National Municipal Review

Editorial Comment

Party Leadership

YONKERS, NEW YORK, is an interesting political laboratory from which many significant truths have been emerging and in which healthy debate of civic issues is fostered by the enlightened daily newspaper, the *Herald Statesman*.

It happens that a fusion of Republicans and independents elected four of the seven members of the city council now serving. Lately the regular Republican leadership has been none too delicate in its efforts to stake its claim on these councilmen and call them to heel.

The Republican city chairman publicly declared that there is no such thing as an independent Republican or an independent Democrat. He minced no words in serving notice on independents that they should accept party discipline or get out of the party.

In a series of vigorous editorials, one of which was headed "In Moscow, Yes; In Yonkers? No!", the *Herald Statesman* challenged "this totalitarian attitude" and citizens wrote letters to the editor dissenting from the chairman's view.

It is taking many politicians too long to learn that, particularly in local affairs, people have become thoroughly fed up with the old shibboleths, party regularity, party discipline, party loyalty and the like. They are coming to realize that interest in public affairs dies in the hands of a monopoly, whether that monopoly goes by the name of Communist or anything else.

Public opinion polls show that 86.8 per cent of the voters want "good government" but that seven out of ten parents do not want their children to go into politics. This is a clear indication that people do not believe the orthodox political leadership tends or intends to produce good government—at least in their communities where citizens are able to see what goes on.

The politician himself is to blame for the low esteem into which he has fallen. Granted that there are many unselfish, decent people in politics, the flagrantly unprincipled performance of some tends to overshadow the good works. The habit of treating politics as a rough anything-goes game, the object of which is to win, control and dictate, makes sensitive, thoughtful people hold aloof.

This unfortunate aloofness of "good" people is proof of the serious damage professional politicians have done to our self-governing system. The people cannot help being painfully aware, too, of the fact that most fundamental progress in public affairs (except, perhaps, in the national government) is achieved in spite of, not because of, party so-called leadership. Indeed, almost every such advance—modern city and state charters, the merit system, honest election methods, etc.—is resisted by one or, more often, both parties. Sometimes a high-minded governor, mayor or member of a legislature or council fights for such improvements,

but this civic leadership is seldom popular with "the boys," and the party machine sets to work almost automatically to box it in or dispose of it.

It is encouraging that more and

more outstanding citizens are taking a strong, intelligent interest in local civic problems. Nearly every time they recapture control from the professional politicians, party leadership improves. It has to.

What Makes Us Great?!

SPEAKING of political "leadership," the party chairman referred to in the accompanying editorial, while extolling the virtues of party regularity, used this old chestnut:

"We owe the great progress this country has made to the two-party system which our forefathers founded and upon which we have so ably progressed for well over 150 years."

A distinguished lawyer pulled the same gag on C. A. Dykstra in 1940 while introducing the then president of the National Municipal League as the main speaker at a regional conference on government in Minneapolis. "Dyke" turned his big smile on the introducer and replied:

"The fact that we have perhaps 8 per cent of the world's population and 40 or so per cent of the natural resources may have had SOMETHING to do with our wealth and greatness."

Taking credit for progress and handing others blame for failure is something the political gentry have always done pretty adroitly. So have others. Recently a quite worthy and well behaved association blandly took full credit for the increase in average personal incomes in its state, overlooking the fact that the same thing has been happening in about

47 other states in which the association has no influence.

Assuredly the two-party system and the one-party system have had a lot to do with inflating the cost of local government. Plenty of examples are generally known. Most of the time we have been rich enough to be relatively indifferent to a lot of political monkey-business but, with skyrocketing payrolls because of general inflation, we can no longer afford the luxury of back room politics as usual.

Experiment, progress and efficiency have been the boast of American business. Most of the 800-odd council-manager places in the United States, and many other communities, too, have demonstrated that the same principles pay off in public as well as in private affairs. People in some parts of the country don't realize that for two generations there has been a powerful trend to non-partisan local elections until today more than half of all cities with populations of over 5,000 have them. That's chiefly what hurts the feelings and not infrequently the purses of old school party leaders.

It has always been "the American way" to try to do things better than our forefathers did. That, plus our natural wealth, is chiefly what has made this country what it is.

Governor Sigler Wins Again

After killing administrative reform bill, lawmakers give him "tools of management" as citizens circulate petitions.

By LOREN B. MILLER*

UNDER the heading "Riding for a Fall" and speaking of Michigan's Governor Kim Sigler and the close of Michigan's special legislative session, *Time Magazine* for May 10, 1948, reported that "his own Republican state legislature bucked off every reform proposal like an unbroken pony with a burr under the saddle."

What *Time* did not report was the amazing reversal three weeks later. In an unprecedented action on *sine die* adjournment day, a bill establishing a department of administration, the major feature of the Governor's program, was reintroduced and adopted! The new act constitutes one of the most significant changes in Michigan's administrative structure in many years, is a major achievement toward Sigler's announced desire to modernize Michigan's government, and should offer a model for other states. Few if any states have its equivalent in concept and scope.

To report the hectic developments leading to establishment of the de-

partment of administration cannot be attempted in detail. Yet the story is of importance, for seldom has a change in state administrative organization of such major and fundamental proportions been achieved so quickly. If but a small part of the pace can be continued, Michigan should finally be on its way to overhauling its clumsy, sprawling, irresponsible state government.

Since his election Governor Sigler had spoken frequently of the need for strengthening and modernizing the state structure, particularly in giving the governor administrative authority commensurate with his responsibility as chief executive and organizing the functions of the state into some semblance of a manageable pattern. Comment frequently pointed to the hundred-odd boards, bureaus, agencies and commissions into which Michigan's government is divided, many of them semi-independent of executive direction through overlapping terms of administering bodies.

With the convening of the special legislative session in March, the principal order of business offered it by the Governor was a reorganization program. Included in the Governor's proposals were five constitutional amendments dealing with such subjects as appointment of elected state officers, four-year terms, removing constitutional salary limitations on executive and legislative salaries. In addition, as the chief feature of the

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program, the Governor proposed the creation of the new department of administration.

As announced by *Time*, the nominal close of the session found the program all but scuttled. Two constitutional amendments on salary limitations had been put on the ballot for next November. In the closing days of the session the department of administration had passed the house by a large majority and the assurances were widespread that the necessary votes were on hand in the senate.

Deal Refused

A last minute upsurge brought demands for a "deal" on highway funds, with swapping of support. The Governor refused. Enough votes were gathered to amend the bill to make the department responsible to the state administrative board (elected state officers) rather than the governor and its own supporters joined in killing it 27-2. The bill was dead.

Late on the night of adjournment Governor Sigler appeared before the legislature denouncing the "obstructionist tactics" that had defeated the measure. The newspapers the following morning carried headlines such as "Seething Sigler Hits Legislature." They called the defeat crushing, the most thorough ever administered by a Michigan legislature to a chief executive at a special session.

In his dramatic appearance before the legislature, Governor Sigler announced his intention to seek initiatory petitions on a constitutional amendment which would strike directly at Michigan's governmental maze by requiring organization into

not more than eighteen departments, with the governor to effect such reorganization if the legislature failed to do so. The Citizens Committee for Better Government in Michigan, a recently formed group, agreed to support the effort. Petitions were printed and first circulation of them started.

Against this background the proposal was made that in lieu of a controversial petition campaign, with its threatened disruption of "party harmony" and uncertain outcome, an effort be made to re-introduce and pass the department of administration bill. Hurried conferences with legislative leaders showed such a possibility to exist. Valuable assistance was rendered by a group of senators headed by Elwood Bonine and Harold Tripp, who put forth yeoman effort to secure their colleagues' support. Eighteen senators agreed to sign the bill as introducers—enough to assure its passage in the upper house. When the legislature reconvened for final adjournment, the bill was re-introduced, passed and the petition campaign dropped.

Seldom has so major a change developed and been adopted so quickly. Students of government rate it the most significant change in Michigan's government since the creation of the state administrative board 25 years ago—with the further difference that the department of administration is sound in concept. Principal objections to the act have centered around the theme of "centralization of power," voiced by those who genuinely feared any increase of executive authority over administration as well as those who mis-

understood the purposes and effects of the act and those who simply opposed change of any kind.

Purposes of Department

In proposing the department of administration to the legislature Governor Sigler emphasized its purpose as creating and bringing together the "tools of management." That is what it does. Purpose of the act is two-fold. It assembles the staff agencies or management-control functions directly under the governor, giving him a right arm in administering all operations of the state. Secondly, these functions are under a unified command, assuring a balanced and harmonious relationship among them and in their necessary effects upon one another.

Highlighted by the Governor in his message submitting the bill to the legislature was the following:

I propose at this time the creation of a department of administration. This department will provide, under one head, the tools of management now scattered in a number of boards and agencies. A capable, experienced and trustworthy administrator should be placed at its head. He should be appointed by the governor and responsible to him.

The chief executive is looked upon, both in law and practice, as the chief administrator. He must be given the tools to do the job. This department will give him those tools so that he can carry out his duties efficiently. If he does not, he will be held responsible by you and by the voters.

Budgeting, purchasing and accounting will form the core of the department. All are parts of the over-all housekeeping functions of state government. The operation of each depends upon close association with, and information furnished by, the others.

Like peas, they belong in the same pod. They should be coordinated for greater efficiency, economy and better management control. These functions are the same in character and purpose. Each relates to the operation of all state functions. A control over them is the only way the chief executive can perform the functions for which the people hold him—and him alone—responsible. They are the means by which administration is made intelligent and effective—or lacking them, bungling and ineffective.

The department will be under the supervision and direction of a controller appointed and removable by the governor. It will be the responsibility of its six major divisions, grouped under him, to:

1. Prepare and administer the state budget,
2. Install, supervise and operate a uniform state accounting system,
3. Administer a centralized state purchasing system,
4. Supervise building construction,
5. Maintain, equip, repair and assign space in all state buildings or rented quarters,
6. Acquire, operate, maintain and repair state-owned motor vehicles,
7. Administer travel regulations,
8. Determine the number, size, form, binding, typography and distribution of all state reports and publications,
9. Maintain and operate central duplicating, mailing, stenographic and other essential office services,
10. Survey and examine the organization and operation of all state agencies and prepare for the governor plans for improvement in the efficiency and economy of their operations.

The extent of the reorganization can perhaps be appreciated when it is realized that budgeting has been under the governor, accounting under the elected auditor general, who thus audited his own books, purchasing and building construction and management supervised by committees of the state administrative board, printing and building maintenance under a board of state auditors. The improved coordination made possible by the new act is obvious.

More to Be Done

By no means does the new act finish the task. It accomplishes one great step forward and should be a means for effecting a steadily improving quality of administration in much of the state government. But remaining are the problems of independent, elected administrative officers not responsible to the governor as well as the multiplicity of agencies under but tenuous executive supervision and direction.

Present Budget Director John A. Perkins, formerly secretary of the Institute of Public Administration at the University of Michigan, has been

announced as Governor Sigler's appointment as the first controller when the act takes effect in August. His performance in his present position, coupled with his knowledge of the concepts underlying creation of the new department, should go far to assure its success in operation.

Upon invitation of Governor Sigler the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research worked with the Governor and his office in the development of the program and will continue to aid in the installation of the new department and the development of further proposals.

Since the close of the legislative session Governor Sigler has announced that he will continue his efforts to complete a program of reorganization, pending the day that Michigan's state government will compare with others which have achieved a modern plan. He has appointed an interim legislative committee to work on the problem, and the citizens committee has offered its assistance. In the meantime Michigan has achieved something which it already can offer other states as a model.

Legislators Usurp Counties

Members of South Carolina General Assembly whittle away local governing powers; new manager act offers first curb.

By ANNE KING GREGORIE*

A PECULIAR evolution has been taking place in the government of South Carolina counties ever since World War I. County legislative delegations—one state senator and members of the House of Representatives from the county—have gradually usurped most local governing powers. Upon returning to their respective counties on adjournment of state legislative sessions they have continued, as organized groups, to administer county government throughout the year.

The first break in this evolution appears in the form of a special act passed by the 1948 legislature which provides a system of municipal government for Charleston County "under either of two alternative plans" to be voted on by the electorate September 14. Actually three alternatives will be offered the voter. If neither Plan A nor B appeals to him he may vote to retain the present system.

Plan A would place the county government back into the hands of the county's governing body. It provides for a county council of seven members who shall appoint a county manager as chief executive officer, the council to have power to legis-

late upon all local matters including the levying of taxes for county and school purposes.

Plan B, however, would continue ultimate control of the county in the legislative delegation. It provides for a county council of eleven but not for a manager. The council would have no power to provide funds and substantially no legislative power except to provide a "reasonable ordinance for the control of motor vehicular traffic." Like Plan A, however, it transfers to the council powers now vested by law in the present county board of commissioners, county police commission and several other separate boards.

Under Plan B all county funds must be provided for by action of the state legislature and the county council must report to the county legislative delegation on all ordinances enacted by it and all moneys received and expended.

Although the state constitution declares that the "legislative, executive and judicial powers of the government shall be forever separate . . . and no person or persons exercising the functions of one of said departments shall assume or discharge the duties of any other,"¹ county delegations have not been deterred from administrative activities in the counties.

Nor have they been abashed by admonitory decrees of the State Su-

*Dr. Gregorie, former state director of the Historical Records Survey, is editor of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*. Her article was prepared as part of a study being made by the Charleston League of Women Voters, of which she is an enthusiastic member.

¹South Carolina Constitution 1895, Article I, Section 14.

preme Court, as in the case of *Bramlette v. Stringer et al.*, in which the court ruled that executive functions of the delegations shall be limited to general supervision and to such matters as are essential to the carrying on of legislative duties.²

In Charleston County today no administrative official can make a decision in any routine matter of importance. If a new school bus is needed, if clay is desired for a school playground, a citizen or a citizens' committee calls upon the delegation. As a result, the members of the delegation, acting in the dual role of state legislators and county executives, violate the constitutional provision that "no person shall hold two offices of honor or profit at the same time."³

Activities Financed

To carry on their self-imposed administrative functions, the members of the delegation organize by electing one of themselves as chairman and another as secretary. In Charleston County the delegation has an office in the courthouse, employs a clerk at an annual salary of \$300 and an office secretary at \$2,400. An annual allowance of \$375 is made for office equipment, supplies, telephone, etc.

To finance its county activities between legislative sessions the delegation votes itself a contingent fund in the annual supply act for the county which is passed by the General Assembly. The germ of the contingent fund first appeared in 1923 as an appropriation of \$75.22

to pay incidentals, stationery and other bills on warrant of the secretary of the delegation. A decade later it had grown to a \$3,000 contingent fund and \$90 for incidentals. In the course of the next ten years the contingent fund reached \$6,000 and the office fund \$900. In 1947 the contingent fund had reached \$20,000 and the office expenses \$3,075.

From time to time, as it deems expedient, the delegation meets in its office for public hearings on administrative matters; the proceedings are recorded in the minutes and are duly reported in the newspapers. At other times the delegation holds what it calls "executive sessions" from which the public is excluded and on which no reports are published.

The great power of the delegation lies in the fact that the annual county supply act must be passed by the state legislature. This is usually referred to as "the power of the purse," because the supply act names the appropriations for each county office, item by item, and determines the county tax levy. Since 1868 taxes for local purposes have been assessed upon estimates prepared by each board of county commissioners and sent to the state controller general for submission to the General Assembly, which in turn incorporates the levy for each county into a single appropriation act for the whole state.

In practice, this has to be worked out by placing the budget for each county in the hands of its legislative delegation. Custom has made it a breach of legislative courtesy for delegations from other counties to

²S. E. 195-257.

³Article II, Section 2.

pose the will of a particular delegation in regard to its own budget.

As long as government was simple and expenditures were small, a single paragraph in the state supply act served for each county. With the increasing complexity of government, the statewide supply act grew more and more unwieldy as each county was given a longer paragraph. In 1916 the county legislative delegations were enjoined to present to the ways and means committee their respective estimates in time for a general county supply act to be presented not later than February 6. In 1920 the general county supply act was broken down into 46 separate county supply acts, each presented at the convenience of its own delegation. Before drafting supply bill, the delegation usually receives estimates from each county office, sometimes direct, sometimes through the board of county commissioners.

Appointing Power Usurped

With the power of the purse goes the delegation's power of appointment. By enacting special laws which apply only to their respective counties the delegations have given themselves the power to appoint many county officials, even some that once were elected by the people.

This administrative work in a county by a group of state legislative officials has developed rapidly in South Carolina in recent years through a process of evolution which must be traced in detail to be fully understood. Such a development would not have been possible if the constitutional status of the board of county commissioners, now

the nominal administrative body of the county, had not been repealed in 1889 by amendment to the constitution. This repeal gave the General Assembly a free hand to interfere in county matters. Thereafter, legislative enactment of a series of local laws foreshadowed the beginnings of the usurpation of executive functions by the state legislative body.

The board of county commissioners began to lose its powers over county roads in 1900 when a special act established the sanitary and drainage commission in Charleston County, to be elected in the general election of 1902 for four-year terms and to serve without compensation. The act was amended in 1906, 1915 and 1917. This commission now exercises all the powers formerly held by the board of county commissioners in connection with building and maintenance of county roads, and both the board and the commission are appointed by the legislative delegation.

In 1925 a special act set up the Charleston County police commission. This body likewise has been reorganized a number of times and is named by the delegation.

In 1936 a special act combined the county board of health with the board of health for the city of Charleston, the delegation naming the county members and the city council naming one member.

In 1931 the county board of education, which names the formerly elected county superintendent of education, came under control of the legislative delegation. In 1939 the delegation in another special law

(Continued on Page 376)

Redevelopment Without Plan

State laws enabling cities and private capital to work for slum clearance and housing have resulted in little progress

By RUTH G. WEINTRAUB and ROSALIND TOUGH*

FOR years everyone has talked about and been aware of the disastrous shortage of housing and the need for the elimination of slums. Tragically little, however, has been accomplished.

As of January 1948, 25 states¹ and Congress for the District of Columbia had passed urban redevelopment legislation permitting cities to demolish outworn structures en masse and to rebuild.² Catalytic agents for such legislation include city planners, motivated by desire for general urban betterment; veterans groups, moved by the need for a place to live; realtors, influenced by the need for stabilizing property values; and insurance companies and savings banks, stimulated by swollen reserves to find new acceptable investments.

*Dr. Weintraub, a member of the New York bar, is associate professor of political science and Dr. Tough is associate professor of sociology at Hunter College, New York City. Over the past few years the authors have collaborated on numerous articles concerning veterans' preference, housing and other subjects in their fields.

¹Alabama, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Jersey, New York, New Hampshire, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Tennessee, South Carolina, Virginia and Wisconsin. Alabama's law on urban redevelopment was declared unconstitutional in 1946.

²This article considers only attempts to encourage private interests in the rehabilitation of blighted areas with public aid in site assembling and tax exemption.

Seven years of legislation, however, have thus far produced few actual improvements. Other than two housing projects in New York City, Stuyvesant Town for whites and Riverton primarily for Negroes, both Metropolitan Life Insurance ventures scheduled for completion in 1948, and two other undertakings, one in Indianapolis and the other in Detroit, neither of which has reached the site clearance stage, state legislation has rebuilt no blighted areas.

The translation of the program from paper to happier urban living has experienced many handicaps, perhaps the most important of which is a non-materialization of a federal subsidy.

In contrast, in Great Britain the role of the central government in redevelopment has been crystallized. A Ministry of Town and Country Planning has been established and subsidies are available to local authorities for the acquisition and clearance of land necessary in re-planning. Britain, of course, had one additional catalytic agent, the blitz and rehabilitation of areas thus affected receives top priority.

Today, in terms of municipal finance, both the slum and blighted area represent economic liabilities. While land values are generally high, determined largely in terms of potential rather than actual use, buildings are old, dilapidated, often actually unsafe. As a result, tax revenues from substandard areas are low, tax

linquency is high. Generally speaking, excessive expenditures for policing, health services, social welfare, fire protection and other governmental services far exceed the yield of the real property tax.

Cities as far apart as Atlanta and Buffalo experience excessive costs in areas of blight and slums. A recent report indicates that in Atlanta 5½ per cent of the tax revenues from real property but 53 per cent of the city's service costs were attributable to blighted areas. In Buffalo annual public health costs were stated to be more than three times as high per family in blighted areas as in other sections.³

Rehabilitation of blighted areas on a large scale should result in what has been termed recentralization within the larger community. What this involves is the creation of a series of small community units within the city, each one complete in the sense of supplying its residents with a place to live, a place to work and transact business, a place for recreation and, in general, a place to fill the needs of everyday living. What this involves, too, is a redistribution of population, lesser density in the recentralized communities and, to use British terminology, a distribution of the excess to overspill areas, even if necessary outside city limits.

The American interpretation of urban redevelopment has not been community reconstruction as a whole but has limited itself largely to one

phase of community life, housing. In this respect it has envisioned urban redevelopment and the development of new communities as separate undertakings and not, what is far more fundamental, two blades of the pair of scissors which should fashion the new design for American living.

What has been envisioned is possible federal grants-in-aid to municipalities, joint federal and local contributions to enable the city to assemble large tracts of land and to write down inflated land values, before the land is made available for new utilization. Embodied in title 8 of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner Bill (Senate 866) which passed the U. S. Senate on April 22, the federal subsidy is still merely a future possibility; there is no likelihood of immediate action.

Urban redevelopment in the United States, therefore, is strictly a product of state and local activity. The only federal subsidy which exists is for rental housing for families of low income. Even for this limited objective funds are no longer available for new projects.

Nature of State Laws

During seven years of legislative activity a change in the role to be played by private initiative has become apparent. In general, statutes adopted from 1941 to 1944 look to private enterprise to accomplish two fundamental phases of urban redevelopment: (a) land assembly and clearance and (b) housing and community replanning. Laws passed since then place the responsibility for land assembly and clearance on local communities and assign to pri-

³Reference and Source Material on Housing and Housing Needs, compiled by the Federal Public Housing Authority, National Housing Agency, January 1947, 10 pages.

vate enterprise the role of actual redevelopment of the area.⁴

Projects anticipated under state laws have the benefit of one or more public privileges and exemptions; on the other hand they are subject to regulation and supervision by public bodies. Assurances take the form of eminent domain exercised either by the corporations, known generally as redevelopment companies, or by municipalities. The corporations are granted all necessary general corporate powers including the power to borrow money and issue bonds and their obligations have become authorized investments for public and private agencies and fiduciaries. Partial tax exemption for a period of years, exemption from increased assessment for tax purposes, land at prices below market rate because of governmental subsidies and grants of public lands in the form of streets, parks and playgrounds are illustrative of additional public aid.

Urban redevelopment laws provide a relatively uniform pattern of regulation; what differs, however, are the supervisory agencies—the planning commission, the local legislature, the controller, superintendent of insurance, local housing authority (set up originally to administer low rental housing legislation) and a specially created redevelopment agency.

Regulations usually require submission of plans for the project, including a description of the area to be developed, type of buildings, anticipated costs and methods of financing, approximate rentals, and

⁴Della Richman, "State Urban Redevelopment Legislation," the *Municipal Yearbook*, 1946, pp. 311-316.

data regarding the dislocation of the families living in the section to be improved. Generally speaking, dividends that the redevelopment company may pay are limited to a specified percentage, restrictions are made as to the transfer of the project to some use other than that designated, and the corporation's financing procedures are supervised.

New York Law in Action

New York State's redevelopment companies act,⁵ the first of its kind, has been translated into action. As already indicated two projects are now nearing completion. One of these, Stuyvesant Town, located along Manhattan's East River from Fourteenth to Eighteenth Streets, will house 8,755 white families; the other, located in Harlem, bounded by 135th and 138th Streets, covering six city blocks, will provide accommodations for 1,236 Negro families.

The Stuyvesant Town area constituted one of the older sections of New York City. Its pattern, established between the Civil War and 1900, included primarily tenement houses and later some industrial establishments. In 1920 a popula-

⁵Comparative Analysis of the Principal Provisions of the State Urban Redevelopment Corporations Laws. National Housing Agency, Office of the General Counsel, June 1, 1944, 27 pages; Comparative Analysis of the Principal Provisions of State Urban Redevelopment Legislation. National Housing Agency, October 3, 1945, 74 pages.

⁶New York, Laws of 1942, Chapter 845; Laws of 1943, Chapter 234; Laws of 1941, 892. The law of 1942 as amended is the first one usually cited because made fundamental changes in the law of 1941.

on of about 27,000 was on the site; in 1943, when the City Planning Commission gave its approval to the project, it had declined to 1,000 persons.

Comparable conditions existed in the Harlem site—all but three of the eleven tenements in the district had been built prior to 1900. Paper, rag and junk shops, small automobile establishments and high coal pockets occupied the greater part of the land. It took little vision to see that once the area was cleared the site, overlooking the Harlem River, had natural charm.

Legal Action Taken

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, operating through the Stuyvesant Town Corporation and the Riverton Development Corporation, was attacked both at public hearings and in the courts. Criticisms were of two types: those which pointed up the weaknesses in the law and those which dealt with specific aspects of the Stuyvesant Town building project. Fear was expressed that there might be racial discrimination in tenant selection, that there were not sufficient controls to prevent high population density, that the law permitted the development corporation to escape from regulation by the city upon the payment of the tax differential plus interest. Upon such payment the partial tax exemption of the project ceases and it is no longer subject to the restrictions and public controls applicable to tax exempt projects.⁷

⁷It has been argued that, from the point of view of long term revenues, it would have been much less expensive to give an initial subsidy to the redevelopment company by transferring the land for Stuy-

Objection was also made to the use of eminent domain by the city in assembling the site and to the surrender of city streets to a private corporation which might at some future time be outside public control.

Stuyvesant Town itself was designated as a "walled city," because of the thirteen-story buildings around the periphery. Other criticisms included the lack of a school within the development and the size of apartments which would accommodate on an average 2.75 persons compared with 3.6 for urban families generally.

Hardly had the plans for Stuyvesant Town been completed before the critics instigated legal action. The right of New York State to grant to the city the use of its power of condemnation in connection with a project that might result in profit to a private corporation was challenged in the courts. The New York Court of Appeals, in the case of *Matter of Mary V. Murray et al. v. LaGuardia et al.*, took the position that there was a public purpose behind legislation which was designed to interest private capital in the task of slum clearance and the correction of blight. That private interests may incidently reap a

vesant Town at a written down value, the city assuming the loss. Under this condition, it is estimated, tax revenue from the development would have been about \$1,000,000 a year, sufficient to compensate the city for its "write down" in comparatively few years. Under the present agreement, since tax exemption extends for 25 years, there is a possible total loss throughout the whole period of \$25,000,000, considerably more than the initial cost of the site. Charles Abrams, *The Future of Housing*. Harper and Brothers, 1946, page 380.

benefit the court considered immaterial to the issue of public purpose.⁸

An action for an injunction to prevent the redevelopment company from proceeding with its plan was started several months later. Here again the suit was lost on the ground that the action was premature in that although there were rumors about a possible tenant selection policy in violation of the "equal protection" clause in the state constitution, no policy had been officially announced and no selection of tenants had begun.⁹ The court took the position that injury to some complainant must be established in order to have a cause of action, and obviously no such complainant could exist and therefore the judiciary could not intervene in advance.

The issue was adjusted at two levels. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company announced the Riverton project in Harlem and the city council of New York passed an ordinance providing that no tax exemption be given new projects which practice discrimination, racial or religious, in tenant selection.

Off the record comment is that, for New York City at least, this legislation ends the usefulness of the state's urban redevelopment companies law so far as new projects are concerned. General feeling among realtors is that local prejudices, being what they are, implications of both the local ordinance and the state law would make investment of private funds extremely precarious. On the other hand, the logic is sound.

⁸291 N. Y. 320, 1943, cert. denied, 321 U. S. 771 (1944).

⁹47 N. Y. Supp. 2d. Series 359 (1944), 294 N. Y. 842.

Can the state give such bounties as the benefits of condemnation and tax exemption to agencies practicing race discrimination in tenant selection?

Experience in Great Britain

All this in the United States is contrary to conditions in Great Britain where planning in terms of community rebuilding has come of age. A series of town and country planning acts from 1943 to 1947 recognize the necessity for a national policy prepared by a central authority.¹⁰ The first provides for a separate minister of planning. The act of 1944 greatly enlarges governmental powers of acquiring land for planning purposes. The bases of the plan, as carried out in Plymouth for example, is "a large scale relocation of excess population and industry from the war damaged and obsolete central wards and the redevelopment of these wards on more spacious lines."

Not only the areas of extensive war damage are to be redeveloped

¹⁰The Town and Country Planning (Interim Development) Act 1943, 6 & 7 Geo. 6, ch. 29; The Town and Country Planning Act 1944, 7 & 8 Geo. 6, ch. 47; New Towns Act 1946, 9 & 10 Geo. 6, ch. 68; *Town and Country Planning Act 1947, Explanatory Memorandum*, Cmd. 7006, Jan. 1947, H. M. Stationery Office, London. *First & Second Interim Report of the New Towns Committee*, cmd. 6755, Jan. 21, 1946; cmd. 6794, April 1946, H. M. Stationery Office, London.

Barbara Bliss (Editor), *The New Planning Redevelopment and Relocation*, Faber and Faber, 1944, see chapter by R. L. Reiss, "The New Planning, Redevelopment and Overspill."

1947 *Town and Country Planning Bill*, Town and Country Planning Association, 26 King Street, Covent Garden, W. C. 2, London.

but adjacent or, in British terms, "overspill" areas needed to reduce population density and relocate industry. The Minister of Town and Country Planning has power to authorize the compulsory acquisition of all the land required for the purpose, even outside the boundaries of the local planning authority. Compulsory purchase of land can also be used where there is no extensive war damage but where there are "conditions of bad layout and obsolete development."

Much of the effectiveness of the British act will depend upon the interpretation by the Minister of Town and Country Planning of such phrases as "area of extensive war damage," conditions of "bad layout and obsolete development," and "standards of density."

Cooperation of local authorities in replanning is essential. In Plymouth the central wards of the city have been designated as either "areas of extensive war damage" or of "obsolete development." The population of these areas will be reduced from 100,000 to 38,000 and some industries will be moved. Ultimately two thirds of the population will be relocated in "overspill areas," some in the immediate neighborhood, some in the city's outer wards and some in communities outside the city.

Financial assistance from the Exchequer takes the form of paying the loan charges incurred by local authorities for the purchase of land.¹¹

¹¹In other words, the central government assumes the cost of the money which the local authorities have borrowed. In areas of extensive war damage these grants run as long as ten years and in exceptional cases fifteen years. For

The new towns act of 1946 gives recognition to that aspect of the overspill program dealing with the accommodation of excess population in new communities outside city limits. The Minister of Town and Country Planning is enabled to set up corporations, acquire land and promote and finance the building of new towns.

Additional basic reforms in the planning system are proposed in the town and country planning act of 1947. Under this legislation a planning scheme, prepared first in broad outline, will determine which towns and villages are suitable for expansion, the number of people to be accommodated and the location of industry and housing. Local authorities are given wider powers to buy land compulsorily to develop it themselves or to lease it to a private developer who will conform with the plan. An owner, not allowed to redevelop his land under the provisions of the plan, will have under certain conditions the right to require the local authority to buy his land. Contrary to the act of 1944 local authorities are no longer restricted to development projects which private enterprise will not undertake.

Where private enterprise is permitted to improve the site, a source of revenue to the government will result from the collection in whole or in part of any increase in land

the overspill areas the full cost of money is met for the first two years by the exchequer; for the second two years only half the cost is met; for the remaining period of the loan the responsibility becomes that of the local authority. Rt. Hon. W. S. Morrison, "The British Town and Country Planning Act," *The American City*, April 1945, pages 65, 66.

value above that for the existing use. This is to be known as a development charge. Thus the market value of land in the future will be determined by its existing use, prior to the new development.

The contrast between redevelopment in Great Britain and that in the United States is so great that the plans appear to be two entirely different spheres of activity. In the one instance power rests with the central government and legal mechanisms to relocate population with its necessary services have already been adopted. In the United States no comparable philosophy of planning exists. What legislation has been passed, what projects have been undertaken, are strictly the results of piecemeal planning within the framework of a private enterprise economy and at the local level.

Though 25 states and Congress for the District of Columbia have met the challenge by passing urban redevelopment laws, no broad movement to clear the slums and to rehouse large sections of the population has resulted.

Here, as in Britain, urban re-

development on a broad scale necessitates planning not just at the state and local level but, more important, at the national level. Assemblage of land in urban communities is expensive, too costly to be used for housing middle income and low income families. Inflated land values must be written down prior to building and this, if undertaken in quantity, requires federal financial aid.

So far the only attempt in this direction, still unsuccessful, is found in the Taft-Wagner-Ellender bill with its federal subsidy for urban redevelopment—because of congressional opposition the National Resources Planning Board, whose vision was broad enough to encompass the rebuilding of our cities, has ceased to exist.

The pertinent question might well be asked: how long can America afford to do without a long-time plan for the future development of its cities—how long can it afford the costs of blighted areas and slums, the inevitable result of the policy of “muddling through”.

Metropolis at the Crossroads

New planned communities, restoration of old neighborhoods, with well rounded community life, seen as basic need of cities.

By PAUL WINDELS*

THE New York Metropolitan Region includes the five counties of New York City and 17 counties in New York State, New Jersey and Connecticut surrounding them—all about 7,500 square miles. Within it are over 500 separate units of local government serving a population of 13,500,000 of whom approximately 7,800,000 live in New York City.

It is estimated that by 1970 there will be an increase in population over the entire region of some 1,000,000 people.

Because of the decreasing size of the average family, it requires more housing units than heretofore to accommodate a given number of people. To provide for the expected increase in number of family units we shall need, by 1970, a total of 100,000 additional living units in the entire region.

This population increase, with its 100,000 additional living units and related business, industrial,

recreational and institutional facilities, will be equivalent to the creation, within this metropolitan region, of 80 new municipalities of the present size of Stamford, Connecticut, White Plains, New York, or Montclair, New Jersey—more than 500 square miles of new development, all within the next 25 years.

This gives a picture of the magnitude of the problems of expansion in the New York region, but the facts have application to other metropolitan areas throughout the nation. In them now live almost half the nation's people. They have increased two and a half times in population since the turn of the century.

Recently F. J. Osborn of England, an international leader in the field of regional and city planning, came to see what was going on in this country. On the eve of his return he made some informal observations on the state of urban and regional planning.

He pointed out that sometimes in the field of human endeavor advocates of progress have to go along for many years with apparently little to show for their efforts. Then, for some reason, the political or social climate changes and, by a combination of circumstances or events, the door of opportunity is suddenly opened and it becomes possible to make notable progress.

Mr. Osborn said that had been the experience of city and regional

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planners in England and he wondered, if the same situation were to arise in this country, whether we would be ready for it. It was his observation that the public's interest in abstract ideas is limited and, to be ready to seize opportunities if and when they come, our thinking must be advanced to the point where we know at what we are aiming and have fairly definite ideas to propose.

There is a good deal of truth in this. What would we do if there were suddenly placed at our disposal the means to secure comprehensive regional planning here? What are the conditions with which we are confronted?

Two Million More

The process of urban growth continues. How long and how far it will grow and spread we do not know, but we believe the estimate of a total increase of 2,000,000 persons in this region in the next quarter century is reasonable.

What are the dominant characteristics of this growth? We have first the centers or cores of the area: New York City, Newark and a half dozen smaller but substantial municipalities. In them all there is a trend from the center either toward its periphery or out of the city. People are steadily moving farther away from central places of employment. A striking illustration of this is the fact that whereas in the fifteen-year period from 1925 to 1940 population in the area increased 26 per cent, the newly built up area increased 56 per cent.

The centers of cities are becoming outmoded for residential purposes.

It is not yet economically practicable to modernize them without vast public subsidies and the population simply drifts away, but the major part of it comes back to the centers for employment.

Chief characteristic of our present day trend is the constantly increasing distance between places of residence and places of employment and recreation. This means an enormous amount of travel, congesting railroads and city transportation systems, increasing tremendously the number of bus lines, and making travel on arterial vehicular highways at times almost an impossibility. Within this region the combined means of transportation bring daily more than four million people from outlying areas to central points for work or recreation.

We estimate an increase in the commuter population to and from New York City, if present trends continue, of 70,000 additional daily travelers by 1970 which means approximately 70 more commuter trains twice a day. How they can be provided for in view of existing congestion nobody yet knows. It is also estimated that by 1960 automobile traffic may be double that of today and nobody knows where the money is coming from to double our highway and parking facilities.

Obviously this increase in daily travel cannot go on forever at the accelerating rates of the past years. We cannot keep on forever creating more and more facilities for the mounting tidal wave of population surging toward the few regional centers in the morning and out again at night. There must be some limit to

the financial ability of states and municipalities to increase transportation and vehicular facilities to meet the needs not only of more people but of longer journeys by people as daily routine. As a matter of sheer physical and financial necessity part of the solution of the traffic and transportation problem must be found in avoiding much of the increase of travel by better organization of the region.

The problem is not necessarily one of mere numbers of people. It is primarily the basically wrong design of our metropolitan area and the way in which the comings and goings of the population are organized.

What happens now when our cities grow? Invariably their population spreads out over the surrounding terrain like a solid flow of lava. They are mere formless sprawls. They simply spread in every direction and in their progress overwhelm everything that lies in their paths with a type of intensive and continuous development basically resembling the older parts of the city.

In the areas surrounding such cities are found many attractive towns and villages, each with its own clearly defined boundaries, traditions and interests where some degree of local, intimate community life is maintained.

As the overwhelming mass of city population moves toward each of these and over it, it is enveloped and absorbed and ultimately becomes another indistinguishable part of the great metropolitan sprawl. The old city pattern is perpetuated and extended, creating an increasing number of urban wanderers seeking

places less obsolete but ever more remote in which to live.

With that type of urban sprawl and the disappearance of these smaller distinctive communities into the conglomerate urban mass come the problems—human, political, social and financial—which plague us today and will press on us with increasing weight unless we control and correct them. In these surroundings arise the anti-social mass emotions which sweep such areas. There is little in them of human scale and participation that people can cling to and build their lives on. They need living conditions based less on anonymity and more on intimate community life and association to rekindle a sense of individual dignity and significance and social responsibility.

New York at Crossroads

Now it is evident that provision must be made for the growth which we face. What shall it be? Shall we let population continue to spread aimlessly as it has, repeating in new areas all of the mistakes of the past, letting congestion pile on congestion and confusion on confusion, until the whole system breaks down through impossible crowding or municipal bankruptcy? Or shall we try to channel this growth of population into a more human and better co-ordinated pattern?

The New York metropolitan area is today at the crossroads. This may be the best, it may also be the last, opportunity for an effective decision as to our future. Building, held back for years because of depression, war and inflation, is now under way. New development will either

help to achieve the better metropolitan region or it will make it more difficult, even impossible, to attain.

Is this metropolitan region to become finally and permanently a massive and monolithic structure keyed largely to a few centers with a daily ebb and flow of millions of people to those relatively small areas or is it to develop as a metropolitan region of many centers of housing, trade, industry and recreation, each clearly defined with its own distinctive identity, with people living closer to places of work and possessing greater opportunities for participation in home community life?

Growth Must Be Guided

In sheer financial self-defense and, even more important, for more desirable living conditions, we must channel and guide this new growth in such a manner that we create many new regional centers.

From its study of this problem the Regional Plan Association knows that additional growth takes place continually on the outskirts of previously built-up areas. The continuation of this trend is actually in force in the building now under way.

This continuous spread and sprawl of the city over the countryside should not be accepted as inevitable—it is not inevitable unless we will it or, by our default, tolerate it.

In the London metropolitan area they propose to meet this threat but by methods which to us seem arbitrary. Certainly we would not be prepared in this country to favor the execution of metropolitan planning by having government appropriate all development rights in all

land. We still believe in private initiative and the free enterprise system.

But what we can do is to agree on some fundamental principles and broad objectives and then use such public and private instrumentalities as are available to us or within the reasonable range of governmental authority and move toward the achievement of those ends.

Instead of permitting a disorganized sprawl of growth we should deliberately set about to preserve the essential identity and character of the small towns. Bronxville, New York, had the foresight to surround itself almost completely with publicly owned open spaces. That community is not in danger of being overwhelmed and losing its identity. We should channel a major part of the region's growth toward a much larger number of centers. We should deliberately design and create entirely new and distinctive self-sufficient communities for the purpose of accommodating a substantial part of our regional growth.

This last may sound like a radical proposal, impossible of accomplishment, but there is nothing radical or impossible about it. It has heretofore been done and is being done now by the development of large scale private residential projects, by building up residential areas around great industries and by relating new industrial plants or business enterprises to new communities.

The next major development in the field of planning in this metropolitan region will be when the governing authorities in each of our three states have the courage, imag-

ation and foresight to apply, on a larger scale, to the creation of entire towns and communities the procedures we are learning to use in urban redevelopment projects under statutes expressly designed for the wholesale redevelopment of blighted areas within cities. This calls for state leadership.

As a next step I should like to see one of our great insurance companies lend its aid to an enterprise that size in cooperation with one of the states and one or more industries seeking more favorable location and modernized design and setting within the region.

This is not decentralization. It is creating new centers to provide for future growth. There will always be a tremendous number of people who will want to live in the great cities which will have their purposes and serve particular needs. But, instead of concentrating all the employment of our increased population on, perhaps, only a half dozen centers we must spread it out and let the increase find its residence and employment in 50 or more intelligently planned and developed centers throughout the region—some of them new towns. This will make for efficiency, economy in operation, reduction of congestion and infinitely pleasanter lives for the people.

And we have the problem of our great cities. In New York City alone there are 16½ square miles of blighted areas. In the region there are 25 square miles of blight. What are we to do with them? Of course we must rebuild them, but today it costs approximately \$10,000 a unit and if we were to provide modern-

ized housing for all of the people presently living in these areas the total cost would be five billion dollars, a substantial part of it an outright subsidy. With land and building costs as they are today, we simply cannot rebuild blighted areas exclusively with private capital, and barely with public capital, unless with such concentrations of population per acre in the new housing as to threaten the creation of new blighted areas.

Neighborhood Units

What we shall have to aim for in the rebuilding of urban centers, just as in the building of new towns, is clearly defined neighborhood units. Decades ago New York City consisted of many such neighborhoods.

Our redevelopment has heretofore been entirely by individual projects not yet big enough, except perhaps in one or two cases, to create distinctive neighborhood patterns.

We have been shortsighted in placing all our reliance on housing. People do not live in housing alone. To live normal, wholesome lives they should also live in communities. We have made notable progress in the development of modernized housing but from now on we must build communities with all the features that make possible a well rounded community life.

It may well be asked, "assuming we decided to build our new areas and rebuild our older areas along the lines here suggested, how can we do it? How can we achieve balanced metropolitan development without a drastic curtailment of local municipal autonomy and free

enterprise, such as is today being experimented with in England?"

We shall have to work it out in the American way under our American system of government and constitutional powers. We need first a policy and a purpose. Thus far there has been no policy of metropolitan development behind state or federal housing and redevelopment legislation. Every federal law affecting urban development, and every state housing and redevelopment corporation law, must be tested for its application to orderly metropolitan growth. Statutory policies and aids are required for the encouragement of public and private capital in this field.

Unofficial citizens' organizations, such as the Regional Plan Association, also have an important role to play in acting as an impartial neutral ground where federal, state, county, local and private representatives meet and work out matters of joint interest affecting regional development.

We must have in the development of our metropolitan areas the kindred and supremely important objectives of the reestablishment of neighborhood life in our cities, the creation of new towns, the preservation of our smaller regional communities and the wider distribution of employment throughout the region.

Along this path lies the hope of a wholesome development of all metropolitan areas.

LEGISLATORS USURP

(Continued from Page 363)

took over the appointment of the city of Charleston school board

formerly elected by the people.

During the depression of the 1930's, when the federal government made large appropriations for local relief, a special act of 1937 set up a county welfare board with three members elected by a majority of the legislative delegation.

The state constitution prohibits local or special laws in ten specified fields, which are required to be regulated by general laws, declaring that "in all other cases where a general law can be made applicable, no special law shall be enacted."⁴

Ignoring the constitution and decisions of the Supreme Court, county delegations have become so obsessed with county matters that the General Assembly is congested with local bills—514 were enacted in the 1948 session as compared with 72 statewide measures—which get no consideration and are passed merely by legislative courtesy unless they are contested within the delegation concerned. The results are three great evils:

1. State legislation is neglected;
2. Length of the legislative session is extended beyond constitutional limits;
3. Members of the General Assembly argue that they are underpaid, and vote to pay themselves unconstitutional extra pay in the guise of "expense money."

The charter vote set for September 14 is Charleston County's opportunity to serve notice on the members of its delegation to the legislature that they are to confine their activities to the offices to which they are elected.

⁴Article III, Section 34, xi.

News in Review

City, State and Nation

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Ohio Cities Demand Unicameral Legislature

New Hampshire Stubs Toe Illinois Looks to Revision

A PROPOSED constitutional amendment to provide a single-chamber legislature for the state of Ohio was unanimously approved in principle by the Ohio Association of Cities at its Youngstown meeting in May.

As prepared at the initiative of Mayor Albert D. Cash of Cincinnati (see the June REVIEW, page 320) and somewhat revised by the association's legislative committee, the amendment would repeal a considerable portion of the present Ohio constitution as it relates to the legislature and substitute revisions for the single chamber, its election, organization and, in important respects, its procedure.

The legislature as established by the amendment would consist of 70 members elected every two years from 39 assembly districts; each district would comprise one or more counties. Cuyahoga County, including the city of Cleveland and other municipalities, would have twelve representatives whereas four of the other districts would each consist of four counties of relatively small population with one representative per district.

A reapportionment is provided for in 1951 and every tenth year thereafter, based on the federal decennial census, or in such other mode as the General Assembly may direct; the state population would be divided by 70 to produce a "population ratio" that would determine the number of representatives per district, with a minimum re-

quirement of seven-tenths of such ratio. If the legislature fails to reapportion by October 1 of any such tenth year the secretary of state is directed to make such apportionment before the end of the year (except that the 1951 apportionment may be delayed until 1953). Thus persistently inequitable apportionment could be guarded against.

Standing committees would be limited to fifteen and provision is made for discharge of bills from committees in the session following introduction. A legislative council and director of research are provided for.

As Ohio citizens can put such an amendment on the ballot directly by a 10 per cent initiative petition it can happen!

Constitutional Reform Set Back in New Hampshire

The thirteenth constitutional convention in New Hampshire adjourned on June 4 after approving six main propositions to be voted on by the electorate next autumn:

1. Each town, regardless of size, to have one representative, with some additional representation for large towns and cities dependent on population but no increase in the total in the house of representatives;
2. State taxes on gross incomes and inheritances permitted;
3. Taxation of stock in trade differently from other property permitted;
4. A tax on electric energy generated instead of utility franchise taxes permitted;
5. Legislature to be permitted to adjourn for periods up to five days rather than for only two days;

6. A uniform election procedure for calling constitutional conventions every eight years instead of seven.

The first proposition has aroused a storm of protest and opposition, primarily in the cities, as it would further reduce urban representation in the legislature, where already the small rural towns have disproportionate power. In New Hampshire each town now has a representative, but in partial recognition of the small population of some towns, their legislative representatives sit only in certain years. The new proposal would give the smallest town continuous representation, grossly disproportionate to population.

The *New Hampshire Sunday News* of Manchester states that 113 towns with a combined population of 13,000 would have greater representation than the cities of Manchester, Concord and Nashua with nearly 150,000 population.

"The net effect would be to rob the cities of representation and establish a rural hierarchy over the cities," says the newspaper editorially, "and, since the rural areas are overwhelmingly Republican, it would strike a further blow against the two-party system. . . .

"It penalizes the large towns in just the same way that it strips representation from the people of the cities. By setting up a whole new group of arbitrary and unrealistic geographical divisions as the basis of voting power it encourages insularity in the state. Friction and disparity of interest between city and county will receive new impetus."

The fear is expressed that the representation proposal will not only increase bitterness between urban and rural communities but will jeopardize all the proposed amendments.

Five non-controversial resolutions for eliminating obsolete constitutional

provisions were also approved and will be submitted to popular vote in 1950.

The convention authorized its president to appoint a committee to prepare information on pertinent subjects in the event the convention is reconvened and approved the suggestion that similar preparation be made as to future conventions.

Illinois Moves Toward Constitutional Revision

Hope for a modernized constitution for Illinois has been expressed by the *Peoria Journal Transcript*:

"The possibility of revising the present outmoded, antiquated 1870 constitution under which the state of Illinois operates has been revived by action of the Illinois State Bar Association and the Chicago Bar Association.

"The presidents of the two bar associations sent letters to Governor Green and to Adlai Stevenson, his Democratic opponent in the November gubernatorial election, asking their sentiments regarding submission to the voters of Illinois in 1950 of a proposal for the holding of a constitutional convention.

"Both Governor Green and Mr. Stevenson indicated their approval of efforts to bring the state's basic law up to date and their willingness to participate in an attempt to call a convention to write a new state constitution.

"Similar attempts have been made several times before but all have failed to bring about the desired changes largely because of down-state distrust of any measure that might give control of the state legislature to Chicago and Cook County. Both Mr. Stevenson and Governor Green allude to these fears in their replies to the bar associations' letters, but both assert that suc-

Difficulties should be possible of solution.

"Few persons will deny that a revision of the state constitution, which is 78 years old, is extremely desirable."

Florida to Vote on Amendment Procedure

The people of Florida will vote in November on a proposed constitutional amendment (House Joint Resolution 18) which would permit complete amendment of any article of the constitution by one amendment. At present an amendment can relate only to a single subject. Representative Perry E. Murray originally introduced the resolution so as to provide that any and all portions of the constitution could be revised by one amendment, but the limitation that each amendment should consist of no more than one revised article was strongly supported by many and was accepted by him.

New Jersey Reorganizes Seven State Departments

Seven out of fourteen state reorganization bills have been adopted thus far by the New Jersey legislature and signed by Governor Driscoll. The other seven are to be considered by the legislature when it resumes on August 18.

The seven departments set up by the newly adopted laws are defense, civil service, public utilities, treasury, highway, banking and insurance, and institutions and agencies; they go into effect July 1.

The defense department is headed by a chief of staff, appointed by the governor to serve at his pleasure. He exercises the functions of the former adjutant general, quartermaster general and state military board.

Civil service will continue to be directed by a commission of five, with five-year terms, except that the

president, who will be the executive head, will be a member of the commission chosen by the governor to serve at his pleasure.

The department of public utilities is under a three-man commission with six-year terms, as at present, with the new proviso that the president be designated by the governor to serve at his pleasure.

The treasury department will be headed by the present treasurer while his term lasts; his successor will be appointed by the governor to serve at his pleasure. The treasury department will consolidate all state fiscal functions, with divisions of budget and accounting, purchase and property, local government, taxation, tax appeals and the state racing commission. The budget director will take over the duties of the present comptroller also. Four state pension funds will be under the treasury. The governor appoints the directors of the budget, purchasing, local government and taxation, but the treasurer can himself exercise any of their authority if he sees fit.

The highway commissioner is appointed by the governor to serve at his pleasure (instead of for six years as previously) and appoints his own engineers.

The commissioner of banking and insurance, also serving at the governor's pleasure, will head his department and appoint deputy commissioners of banking and insurance as well as building and loan. The department also takes in the real estate commission of five members appointed by the governor.

All appointments by the governor are subject to the consent of the senate.

There is substantially no change in the department of institutions and agencies.

Short State Ballot Urged for Minnesota

The executive committee of the Minnesota constitutional commission, authorized by the legislature to revise the 90-year-old state constitution, has made various recommendations to the full commission.

State executive officers elected by the people to be reduced to three—governor, lieutenant governor and attorney general; those to be made appointive instead of elective would be the secretary of state, the treasurer and the clerk of the supreme court.

The state auditor, heretofore elective, would be chosen by the legislature, with his term extended from four years to six.

Terms of governor, lieutenant governor and attorney general would be extended from two to four years.

The merit system for selection of state employees would be perpetuated and protected by being written into the constitution.

Succession to the governorship in case of death, resignation or removal of the governor would be, in order, by the lieutenant governor, senate president *pro tempore*, speaker of the house. If none of these are available, the oldest member of the senate would be authorized to call the senate in special session to elect a president *pro tempore* who would then become governor.

The governor would be required to submit a budget three weeks after the opening of each biennial session of the legislature.

Kentucky Combines Social Security Agencies

A new department of economic security, created by the Kentucky legislature this year, begins functioning July 1. It will unite unemploy-

ment insurance, employment service, public assistance and child welfare. The University of Kentucky is offering extension courses to the department's employees in various technical subjects.

South Carolina Seeks Better Legislative Methods

At its regular 1948 session the legislature of South Carolina created an interim committee on improvement of legislative procedure. According to *State Government* it will investigate and report on reorganization of the standing committee system, reduction of the volume of local legislation, revision of engrossing procedures and establishment of research, reference and bill-drafting facilities.

40 State Planning or Development Agencies

With the creation of an agricultural and industrial expansion board by recent legislation, Kentucky becomes the 40th state with a regular agency engaged in planning or related activities, according to the Association of State Planning and Development Agencies. A recent survey by the association disclosed that states are spending somewhat more than \$8,000,000 during the current biennium on planning and development.

The Kentucky agency, backed by an appropriation of \$150,000 a year for the next two years, will undertake research and advertising to "attract favorable attention to the industrial, commercial, recreational and agricultural possibilities of the commonwealth." The program will involve: (1) coordinating economic development plans of localities and regions, (2) studying land utilization, (3) mapping the physical and economic development of the state, (4) helping other

agencies promote development of resources, and (5) dovetailing local improvement programs into an integrated statewide plan.

In Virginia, recent reorganization enactments put the state planning board in a new department of conservation and development and renames the division of planning and economic development. Research will be conducted in sixteen major fields "affecting the economy of the state." Other divisions in the new department are forestry, geology, parks, water resources and ports.

Use of Interstate Compacts Extended

With the participation of Kentucky, Mississippi and South Carolina in the Interstate Compact for the Supervision of Parolees and Probationers, the number of states that have ratified the compact is raised to 44, according to the Council of State Governments. It is thus the most widely accepted formal interstate agreement "calling for coordinated effort and cooperative practices."

Preparatory work for pollution control is advancing under the New England Interstate Water Pollution Control Compact, ratified last year by Connecticut, Massachusetts and Rhode Island, with the approval of the federal government. The present members of the resultant commission hope that the other New England states and New York will soon enter. Each signatory pledges to provide for the abatement and control of pollution of interstate waters in accordance with requirements approved by the commission.

The Western Interstate Committee on Institutional Care, established as a result of a regional meeting of the Council of State Governments in 1946, has recently been considering a proposal for an interstate compact among

ten western states to provide for a central institution for women criminals. It also contemplates a survey of mental deficient in western state institutions, a plan for segregation of juvenile delinquents by types, and a plan for joint use by two or more states of technical personnel on a part-time basis.

A broad program for industrial expansion in eleven western states is to be drafted before November by the commissions on interstate co-operation in the respective states.

Council Manager Plan Developments

On May 18 the voters of Meridian, Mississippi, (population 35,481) adopted the council-manager plan as provided by the legislature earlier this year. The vote was 2,802 to 831, largest ever cast in Meridian in a special election. The plan takes effect on January 1.

Pulaski, Virginia, (population 8,792) adopted a limited town manager charter, authorized by the legislature, on June 8 by a vote of 711 to 432. The new charter retains the ward system previously in use with the mayor elected at large. Under it the manager, to be appointed by the council, has no authority to "hire and fire" department heads but that power may be designated to him by the council. Petitions to place the plan on the ballot were circulated by the local newspaper, *The Southwest Times*, which conducted a vigorous campaign for its adoption.

The voters of Albany, Oregon, (5,654) have approved a charter amendment instituting the council-manager plan. Sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce and other citizens' groups, it was submitted by the city council and was approved 1,897 to 871.

The borough council of New Holland, Pennsylvania, has enacted an ordinance providing for appointment of a

borough manager. The new appointee took office on May 17.

The town of **South Berwick, New Hampshire**, adopted the manager plan on June 2 at the largest town meeting in its history. The plan is to go into effect following the next annual town meeting in March 1949.

A group of citizens in **Nashua, New Hampshire**, is planning to conduct a campaign to acquaint the people of that city with the benefits of the council-manager plan.

The board of aldermen of **Rutland, Vermont**, after setting the tax rate for the year at \$3.60, decided unanimously on May 24 to study the manager plan.

A **Boston** charter bill was signed on June 3 by Governor Bradford of Massachusetts.¹ It will give Boston voters an opportunity to ballot on a change in government to one of three forms: Plan A, mayor and nine-member council elected at large; Plan E, city manager chosen by council elected by proportional representation; and Plan D, city manager chosen by a council elected at large by "limited voting"—each voter being permitted to vote for six candidates for the nine council seats. The first of the three plans to obtain sufficient signatures—10 per cent of the total registration—will be the only one to appear on the ballot, as against the existing form of government, at the next city election in 1949.

A revised Plan D bill, optional for all cities except Boston, with each voter permitted to vote for all council seats, was adopted by the **Massachusetts** legislature and signed by the governor on June 3.

A bill permitting **Massachusetts** towns to adopt a specified standard form of town manager government, sponsored by Speaker Frederick B. Willis, was defeated in the house of

representatives. It was vigorously opposed by town officials.

A bill permitting **Nahant, Massachusetts**, to adopt the town manager plan has become law; 10 per cent of the registered voters may petition for the plan before May 15, 1950.

The Plan E Committee for **Beverly, Massachusetts**, has been circulating a petition to place on the ballot the question of a new charter providing for a city manager and proportional representation council.

An organization for adoption of the council-manager plan has been formed in **Derby, Connecticut**.

Charter revision is reported in progress in **Kingston, New York**, with interest in the manager plan.

The Republican Club of the village of **Endicott, New York**, is exploring the pros and cons of council-manager government.

An active and organized movement is under way in **Olean, New York**, to obtain the manager plan. This is a revival of a similar movement interfered with by the war.

A citizens' group in **Beacon, New York**, is circulating petitions seeking a charter amendment to provide for the council-manager plan.

The Taxpayers Association of **North Bergen, New Jersey**, is sponsoring petitions for an election on the council-manager plan.

The **Plainfield, New Jersey**, Citizens Association, which has been advocating the council-manager plan, has temporarily dropped plans to file petitions for a special election. Its board of governors voted on May 18 to request the mayor and council to employ a national authority on municipal government to make a survey and report. It has been pointed out that a special committee appointed by Governor Driscoll is studying local government in New Jersey.

¹See also page 396 this issue.

The borough of **Manheim, Pennsylvania**, is considering adoption of a manager ordinance.

The House Committee on the District of Columbia has before it a bill of Representative Auchincloss of New Jersey providing for the manager plan, home rule and a general reorganization for the **District of Columbia** (city of Washington). The local governing body would be a district council of twelve members with four-year terms and numbered offices. Six of the twelve would be elected at large every two years at primary elections, or at final elections in cases where no candidate receives a majority of the votes cast for a given office—the two with the highest votes to take part in the final election. The district council would appoint a city manager and may pass ordinances as to certain matters and legislative proposals as to others, the latter, to require approval of Congress.

The city council of **Columbia, South Carolina**, has unanimously approved the principle of the council-manager plan.

Five of six ordinances adopted by the **Augusta, Georgia**, city council, to restore the office of manager after the voiding of the new council-manager charter by the Georgia Supreme Court on a technicality,² and vetoed by Mayor W. D. Page who was restored to office by the court's action, have been declared legal by the Superior Court. The court has ordered publication of the ordinances which will officially enact them into law. In its decision it stated that since the ordinances were not appropriation measures they were not subject to veto. An appeal to the Supreme Court is expected.

Norway, Michigan, will vote July 12 on general charter revision and on an advisory proposition for adoption of the manager plan.

Proposed changes in governmental structure in **Coldwater, Michigan**, including the manager plan, elimination of several boards and establishment of a municipal court, were defeated on May 24 by a vote of 1,874 to 212.

On May 4 voters of **Columbia, Missouri**, elected a commission to frame a charter for the city. It is expected that the new document will provide the council-manager plan.

A group of members of the **Alabama House of Representatives** has been studying reorganization of local government, including the manager plan.

The board of directors of the **Shreveport, Louisiana, Chamber of Commerce** has adopted a recommendation of its legislative and taxation committee calling for the introduction of a bill in the state legislature to provide for a nine-member charter commission to draft a charter to replace the present 50-year-old document. The manager plan would be a leading possibility.

A citizens' committee in **Ruston, Louisiana**, is making a study of council-manager government.

It is proposed that the charter of **Fergus Falls, Minnesota**, be amended to provide for a city manager chosen by a council of seven elected at large.

The Chamber of Commerce of **Columbus, Kansas**, has appointed a committee to investigate the possibility of obtaining the manager plan.

A council-manager charter is in course of preparation for **Miami, Oklahoma**. The Chamber of Commerce is interested in furthering the plan.

Interest in the manager plan, supported by the mayor, is active in **Britton, Oklahoma**. A citizens' committee to draft a manager charter has been proposed.

Citizens of **Midwest City, Oklahoma**, have voted overwhelmingly for a new charter. It is expected that the new document will provide the council-manager plan.

²See the REVIEW for May, page 260.

The **Sheridan, Wyoming**, Junior Chamber of Commerce has opened a campaign for adoption of the manager plan, with petitions to be circulated calling for a special election on the question.

A campaign for the council-manager plan in **Riverside, California**, is continuing despite an opinion of the city attorney voiding petitions that had been circulated. The *Daily Press* is supporting the move.

A proposal to create the post of manager for **Alameda County, California**, has been placed on the November 2 ballot.

Cottage Grove, Oregon, has abandoned the manager plan, by the close vote of 561 to 523, after less than a year's trial. A proposal for a county manager in **Lane County, Oregon**, was defeated May 21 by a vote of 16,323 to 10,300.

A movement for the manager plan is active in **Yakima, Washington**, and it is expected that the question will be on the ballot next fall.

Managers Meet

The International City Managers' Association will hold its 34th annual conference on September 12-16 at Mackinac Island, Michigan.

The first manager institute for newly appointed managers was held at the Chicago headquarters of the ICMA June 3-5 and was attended by twelve managers from seven states. It was conducted on the conference method. A second institute will probably be held in the late autumn.

Nine city and town managers of **New Hampshire** met at Durham under the auspices of the University of New Hampshire's Bureau of Government Research on May 4 and organized the New Hampshire Municipal Managers' Association. Woodbury Brackett, Dover, was elected president, and

Donald E. Dunn of the university, secretary. Problems of administration were discussed at an all-day session.

Fourteen **Georgia** managers met at Waycross, Georgia, on May 22.

The second **Florida** Managers Institute was held at Gainesville, Florida, May 20-22, with 27 managers in attendance.

University of Kansas Trains Interns in Management

An apprentice training program in city management will begin next fall at the University of Kansas with the aid of a \$50,000 grant by the Carnegie Corporation of New York, to be utilized at the rate of \$10,000 a year. The K. U. Bureau of Government Research will conduct the program, which will be directed by Dr. E. O. Stene, head of the public administration curriculum.

The program will be of eighteen months duration for each of the six graduate students accepted yearly, with on-campus course study in the first half and off-campus internships in city government during the second. The course will lead to a master's degree and a certificate in public administration.

During his internship each trainee will serve as assistant to a city manager or as an assistant in a major department of a large city, with rotated duties.

There are now 25 cities in Kansas with the council-manager plan of government, which has spread so rapidly that a shortage of qualified personnel has developed.

The trainees will return to the campus every six weeks for exchange of ideas and reappraisals of course work. K. U. staff will visit the cities periodically. The interns will also participate in several conferences of city managers on the campus.

Researcher's Digest Edited by John E. Bebout

Sources, Use and Control of Public Money

Revenue, Assessment and Other Fiscal Problems

A COMPARATIVE Study of the Tax System of the State of Washington, by Ralph I. Thayer, assistant professor of economics at the University of Washington (188 pages with charts and tables) has been issued by the state's **Division of Progress and Industry Development**, Herbert M. Peet, supervisor. Washington's tax system is compared with those of eight other states—Alabama, California, Idaho, Illinois, New York, Oregon, Tennessee, Wisconsin—over the period 1939 through 1944.

The municipal tobacco tax in Alabama is the subject of a report from the **Alabama League of Municipalities** by Ed E. Reid, its executive director. It covers administrative practices, monthly average yield and purposes and includes a sample ordinance.

Two recent issues of the **Taxpayer of the Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance**, by Paul N. Reynolds, executive director, discuss the state's general fund condition, executive budget revenues and appropriations and total taxes collected in the state during the 1947 fiscal year. One issue tabulates cigarette taxes in the 38 states which have them.

The **Colorado Public Expenditure Council**, Fred Bennion, executive director, presents in its *Taxpayer* tables showing the number of miles of rural highways in the state and the 1948 revenue per mile of county road from various sources.

All the boroughs in Pennsylvania and the amounts each received in 1948 from the state liquid fuels tax are listed in a

Borough Bulletin supplement of the **Institute of Local and State Government**, Stephen B. Sweeney, director.

North Dakota county taxes and municipal levies in 1947 are tabulated in a recent number of *Taxpayer* of the **North Dakota Taxpayers Association**, Archie H. McGraw, secretary.

The **Tax Foundation**, Alfred Parker, assistant director, has published a 99-page study of *Recent Trends in Major State Taxes, 1941-47*. All types of taxes are discussed statistically. One of the important points brought out by the study is that 1947 tax revenues in 35 states were from 51 per cent to 148 per cent greater than in 1941.

Licenses issued in Buffalo and the fees for the various kinds are listed in *Comments*, issued by the **Lackawanna (New York) Tax Research Bureau**, James J. Kirkwood, executive director. The list is intended to help the Lackawanna common council in studying the present rather confused system in that city.

St. Louis County revenues from 1939 through 1947 are compared in *Dollars and Sense in Government* from the **St. Louis Governmental Research Institute**, Victor D. Brannon, director.

New Local Taxes

Recent developments under Pennsylvania's new local tax act,¹ which empowers 3,588 political subdivisions in the state to impose taxes on any or all subjects not already levied upon by the state, are summarized in *An Interim Report on New Local Taxes Levied Under Act No. 481* from the **Pennsylvania Economy League's Western Division**, Leslie J. Reese, director, and *Pennsylvania's New Local Tax Law in*

¹See also page 402 this issue.

Operation, by the Pennsylvania State Chamber of Commerce Research Bureau.

Legislative restrictions on the raising of additional revenue must be removed if Louisville is to develop an adequate and intelligent financial program, concludes the **Louisville Area Development Association**, Kenneth P. Vinsel, executive director, in its recent report on *Sources of Municipal Revenue* (with special reference to Louisville). The legislative background, sources of revenue now available to the city and sources requiring state legislation are discussed.

New taxes and present tax rates are tabulated and discussed in the following publications: *Comments, Lackawanna (New York) Tax Research Bureau*; bulletin from the **Chicago Civic Federation**, Harland C. Stockwell, executive secretary; *Graphic Bulletin* from the **Arkansas Public Expenditure Council**, Sam Hays, executive director; *Research Brevities, Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research*, George L. Nichols, managing director; and *Municipal Research* from the **Rochester Bureau of Municipal Research**, W. Earl Weller, director.

In *City Sales Taxes in California*, 21-page mimeographed report of the **Division of Research and Statistics** (Ronald B. Welch, chief) of the **California State Board of Equalization**, the various kinds of sales taxes in the 84 California cities which have them are explained and tabulated.

Assessment Problems

The problem of inequality in assessing is discussed by the **Schenectady Bureau of Municipal Research** in an issue of *Research Brevities*. In another issue the effect of proposed property assessment changes in various parts of the city is tabulated.

The Jasper County Taxpayer, Jasper

County Tax Economy Association, Gerald N. Hardy, executive director, includes a table showing property tax rates per \$100 assessed valuation for state, county, city and school district levies in that Missouri county.

Tax rates and assessed valuations in Oregon cities are tabulated in a recent issue of *Western City*, Winston R. Updegraff, editor.

In New Jersey, "continuing expansion in the amount of general property taxes assessed represents 'new taxes' in effect if not in name," points out James A. Arnold, Jr., in an article on general property tax assessment in *New Jersey Municipalities*, organ of the **State League of Municipalities**, James J. Smith, executive secretary.

The **Pennsylvania Economy League's State Division** explains, in its *Topics*, the operation of the State Tax Equalization Board created by the 1947 legislature to establish a uniform market-value basis for computation of annual state subsidies to local school districts. It is pointed out that although the board has no authority over local assessments, the widespread practice of under-assessing is likely to result in an increase in market values set by the board which, in turn, will reduce the amount of state subsidies to under-assessing districts.

Appropriations and Costs

"The Professional Staff of the U. S. Senate Committee on Appropriations" is the subject of an article by Thomas J. Graves, director of the staff, in the *GRA's Notes and References*. Organization of the staff and its work in connection with fiscal legislation are described.

The **Illinois Legislative Council's Research Department**, J. F. Isakoff, director, has issued two reports intended to provide factual information for the state's legislators. One discusses *Ap-*

Appropriation Requests and Enactments: Illinois 1947 General Assembly; the Other Concerns Registration of Vital Statistics.

County costs in Iowa were over 10 per cent higher in 1946 than in 1945, according to tables in *Taxpayer* from the **Iowa Taxpayers Association**, Joe L. Long, executive secretary. The same issue points out that the total cost of county boards of supervisors went up less than 5 per cent in the same period. Costs of two school building projects are averaging 36 per cent higher than earlier estimates, the **Iowa City Taxpayers Association**, Roy L. Miller, executive secretary, points out in a recent bulletin.

Salary schedules for policemen and firemen in seven Iowa cities are presented in a bulletin from the **Woodbury County (Sioux City) Taxpayers Conference**, James L. Barclay, executive secretary.

California teachers' salaries are tabulated in a recent *Tax Digest* of the **California Taxpayers' Association**, Jessie K. Grant, editor.

The cost of education in **New York State** is examined in two recent issues of the **New York State Taxpayer** of the **Citizens Public Expenditure Survey**, Walter O. Howe, executive vice president. Operating expenditures and per pupil cost for the 1947 fiscal year in 113 Iowa city school districts are tabulated in the **Iowa Taxpayers Association's Taxpayer**.

Budget Administration

Detroit's budget problems have received attention from the **Bureau of Governmental Research**, Loren B. Miller, director. Several numbers of *Bureau Notes* compare the 1948-49 proposals of the mayor with the 1947-48 budget and analyze the finished budget. In its series of graphic bulletins, *Budget Backgrounds*, the bureau has dealt with school finances, the

health and welfare departments, teachers' salaries, city employees' salaries, parks and recreation and capital improvements. The final issue of *Backgrounds* recommends a number of ways to achieve more efficient city administration. Another *Bureau Notes* discusses the 1948-49 Michigan state budget.

The **Philadelphia Bureau of Municipal Research**, Robert K. Sawyer, director, advocates a strong administrative budget bureau for the city in its *Citizens' Business*. In other issues, the bureau notes that annual interest requirements on the city's bonded debt are down for the twelfth consecutive year and discusses city loan proposals, revenue receipts and changes in payments of the city earned income tax.

Newark's 1947 and 1948 budgets are compared in a memorandum from the **Newark Bureau of Municipal Research**, Henry W. Connor, director.

Other Fiscal Studies

Utah finances have received attention in a number of reports from the **Utah Foundation**, Henry R. Pearson, managing director. Revenues, expenditures and enrollments of the University of Utah and the Utah State Agricultural College from 1937 to 1947 are presented in one of the foundation's *Surveys of Utah Government* (and also, in condensed form, in two issues of its *Research Report*). A third report outlines the financial problems of the University of Utah's School of Medicine. Another in the *Surveys* series is a statistical treatment of public welfare in Utah. The effect of 1947 welfare legislation on public assistance expenditures is summarized in a *Research Report*.

The fiscal aspects of the following subjects are discussed in recent issues of *Just a Moment*, bulletin of the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau**,

George G. Sipprell, managing director: the 1948-49 budget of the mayor, Buffalo Sewer Authority, Erie County sales tax, grants received by the city from the federal and state governments, county tax collection trends, city revenues, county budget procedure, the Buffalo school district and a capital expenditure program.

Financial powers of the county board are discussed in a recent number of *Your Government* of the University of Kansas Bureau of Government Research, Ethan P. Allen, director.

The Arkansas Public Expenditure Council devotes an issue of *You and Your Government* to a comprehensive tabular analysis of county finances for 1946.

A Ten Year Analysis of Minnesota's State Fiscal Operations is a thorough statistical treatment of the state's finances from 1938 through 1947. Condensed and detailed tables present revenue receipts and current governmental costs for each year; other aspects are treated in shorter tables and graphs. The report is issued by the Minnesota Institute of Governmental Research, Harold L. Henderson, executive director.

The Citizens' Research Institute of Canada, Eric Hardy, director, has issued another in its series of bulletins on the cost of government; its subject is the Canadian public debt. Mr. Hardy, in a reprint of an article "Current Problems of Municipal Financing," advocates creation of larger units of government to improve local financing and add to the efficiency of administration.

A fiscal survey of Indianola, Mississippi, is the subject of a pamphlet from the University of Mississippi Bureau of Public Administration written by Robert B. Highsaw, bureau director. Revenue struc-

ture and municipal expenditures and debt are examined and a new revenue program is outlined.

The San Francisco budget and charter bonded debt limit are considered in two bulletins of the Bureau of Governmental Research, Alfred F. Smith, director.

California finances—the 1948-49 budget and expenditures from 1940-41 through 1946-47—are considered in articles and tables in a recent issue of the California Taxpayers' Association's *Tax Digest*.

The Tennessee State Planning Commission, Hayden B. Johnson, executive director, has issued reports on *Sanitary Service Charges in Tennessee, 1947*, and *Tennessee State Government: A Report on State Finances, 1946-47*.

Pensions, Bonuses, Security and Relief

The Illinois Municipal League, A. L. Sargent, executive director, publishes in its *Review* an article by A. A. Weinberg on "Municipal Employees' Pension Laws" which discusses various Illinois pension plans and makes recommendations.

The veterans' bonus situation is summarized in *North Dakota Taxpayers Association's Taxpayer*. Notes on World War I bonus financing are followed by provisions in the bonus bills for veterans of the recent war which have been passed or are being considered now. A table sets forth the probable mill levies required to finance the proposed North Dakota bonus and a summary of the present federal benefits to World War II veterans is given.

The Tax Foundation's *Tax Outlook* recently included an article by Brooks C. Kleber, "Another Billion Dollar Problem: Why Can't Our States Get Together On Unemployment Compensation?", which advo-

ates elimination of inconsistencies in state compensation laws.

The **University of Hawaii Legislative Reference Bureau**, Norman Meller, director, has issued a 41-page report entitled *State Compensation Insurance Funds* which "attempts to collate data pertinent to the organization and administration of a territorial agency writing all workmen's compensation insurance in the territory."

The percentage of those over 65 receiving old age assistance in Wisconsin counties ranges from 8 per cent to 54 per cent, with an average of almost 20 per cent, according to a table in *Tax News*, Glen W. McGrath, editor, from the **Wisconsin Citizens Public Expenditure Survey**. Another number points out that one of every 38 persons in the state is receiving some form of non-institutional public assistance.

The financing of poor relief in Marion County, Indiana, is discussed in a bulletin from the **Bureau of Governmental Research of the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce**, Carl R. Dorch, director.

Service Levels, Areas and Tasks of Local Government

The library systems of Hamilton County, Ohio, and Erie County, New York, are compared with that of Milwaukee and suburbs in a leaflet from the **Milwaukee Citizens' Governmental Research Bureau**, Norman N. Gill, director, advocating adoption of the county-wide system in Milwaukee. The Erie County system and the Buffalo Public Library are also discussed in the **Buffalo Municipal Research Bureau's Just a Moment**.

In two of its series of bulletins on general bond issues to be voted on in Milwaukee, the Milwaukee bureau discusses the question: is the city

government or the county government to undertake projects of county-wide benefit? It presents arguments for and against a proposed system of express highways in the city.

The second of two articles on annexing territory to municipalities in Michigan has appeared in the *Municipal Review* of the **Michigan Municipal League**, John Huss, director. Entitled "Annexation Methods for Fourth Class Cities, Home Rule and General Law Villages," the article is by Robert E. Fryer, research assistant with the **University of Michigan Bureau of Government**.

The new state law setting up procedures by which local school districts can reorganize into more efficient administrative units is summarized by the **Missouri Public Expenditure Survey**, Edward Staples, executive director, in *Your Tax Money*.

The administrative reorganization of school districts in Pennsylvania under Act 361 of 1947 is the subject of a bulletin from the **Pennsylvania Economy League's Southeastern Division**, Carlton W. Tillinghast, director, which defines terms and methods and lists pertinent provisions of the school code.

Municipal Water Systems in Washington State (69 pages), by Donald C. Sampson, covers laws, rates and policies and gives in an appendix the texts of a number of ordinances. The report is published by the **University of Washington Bureau of Governmental Research and Services**, Donald H. Webster, director, in cooperation with the **Association of Washington Cities**, Chester Biesen, secretary.

Regulations and ordinances relating to the collection of rubbish and garbage should be more strictly enforced, the **Woonsocket (Rhode Island) Tax**

(Continued on Page 398)

Citizen Action Edited by Elsie S. Parker

College Students Active in Civic Affairs

Investigate Local Government Problems, Offer Solutions

STUDENTS at Toledo University recently held miniature conventions on amending Toledo's city charter. Twenty political science classes involving some six hundred students, under the guiding hand of Dr. O. Garfield Jones, went over the charter carefully and proposed revisions while organized on a convention basis.

In general the students favored the status quo so far as Toledo's form of government is concerned — council-manager plan with proportional representation as the method of electing the council. The students did, however, offer many suggestions for improvement, especially as to planning.

Under the guidance of Dr. Victoria Schuck, students in local government classes at Mount Holyoke College have written a *Guide to Politics in Massachusetts*, a 24-page printed brochure describing by the question-and-answer method how to qualify for voting, how to become a candidate, how to participate in party activities, what appears on the election ballot, direct legislation and the conduct of local elections in Holyoke.

Twenty-two graduate students of Harvard University's Department of Regional Planning recently made a planning survey of Framingham, Massachusetts, at the request of the town fathers. Results of their research and plans were exhibited in the Framingham town hall for several weeks prior to the annual town meeting. The local newspaper published the report serially

and the local radio station discussed it on several weekly broadcasts. "The town became aware of its own problems," reports *The American City*, "and from the liveliness of the discussion it is hoped that the goals sought have been reached. These goals are not the adoption of a plan but an arousing of the citizens to a point where they will see for themselves the advantages and economies of the planning process."

Meeting at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, the New Jersey Council for the Social Studies, Edwin M. Barton, president, and the New Jersey Visual Education Association held a joint one-day program on "Teaching Civic Responsibility." Addresses included "Studying Local Government Services," by Paul V. Neilsen, and "Teaching the Government of the Local Community," by Harvey J. Wolzman. Featured was a moving picture on civic responsibility, "The Fourth 'R,'" made by pupils and teachers of the Maplewood Junior High School.

A brochure on Hartford's new council-manager charter, for use in civics classes, has been prepared by J. Ralph Spalding of the Bulkeley High School in Hartford. It is made up of a series of five articles appearing first in the Hartford Times.

High school pupils in Maryland and Rhode Island participated in model legislatures held this spring. In Rhode Island student delegates to the "legislature" were divided into two parties — the National and the Union — their proportions in each house being the same as the proportions of Republicans and Democrats in the state legislature. The session was sponsored by the Rhode Island Association of Social Science Teachers.

The Maryland model legislature, sponsored by the Y. M. C. A., was a three-day session participated in by 10 students. Previous to the sessions meeting was held at which student officials were elected.

The Appleton, Wisconsin, city council is sponsoring a plan for interesting high school students in local government.

New Publications

Higher Education for American Democracy, Vol. 1, Establishing the Goals A report of the President's Commission on Higher Education, 103 pages, Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D. C.;

A Project in Civic Education—description of a proposed study to be undertaken by Professor Emeritus Henry W. Holmes, Harvard University, and Professor John J. Mahoney of Boston University, director of the Harvard-Boston University Extension Courses for Teachers.

Youthbuilders' Experiment

Some years ago, Sabra Holbrook, a most articulate and thoughtful young woman, became interested in the problems of youth. She conceived of a public education system far broader in scope than the mere teaching of fundamental courses to elementary and high school pupils.

In her own mind Mrs. Holbrook developed a theory of teaching children to solve some of their own problems in their own way. From that idea developed an organization now known as Youthbuilders, no longer an experiment but an accomplishment hailed by authorities in education from Maine to California.

The Youthbuilders ideal caught on quickly in New York and clubs were formed, first in elementary schools, then in junior high schools. In a contested community all kinds of social

tensions arise not only among adults but among children, who acquire prejudices which lead to misunderstandings and often to violence.

The major premise from which the Youthbuilder idea stems is to develop the ability to think problems through, to work out a solution and to translate the solution into action.

It was a Youthbuilders club which persuaded the publisher of a comic strip to cease portraying the hero as a white boy and the villain as a Negro. It was a Youthbuilders club which became concerned with enlarging neighborhood recreational facilities in a certain section of Brooklyn and which mobilized public opinion by inviting business men to lunch with them monthly in order to have full discussions of ways and means. It was a Youthbuilders club which broke up segregation according to races in the school cafeteria. It was a Youthbuilders club that turned a trash-littered vacant lot into a playground; and it was the Youthbuilders clubs, all working together during the war, which collected thousands of pounds of salvageable material for war purposes.

Now Youthbuilders has been absorbed into the New York public school system and has become an official part of the daily curriculum. Teachers have been trained and they, in turn, are assigned to the training of more teachers in the Youthbuilders technique.

The clubs venture into rat extermination, tuberculosis prevention, cutting down on window breakage and other vandalism. Wherever the neighborhood, whatever the problems are that these young people choose to solve, they are learning how to assume successfully the responsibilities of citizenship.

The public school systems of Philadelphia and Chicago have incorporated this program as part of their social

science curriculum, and in Los Angeles there is great interest.

As Mrs. Holbrook wrote: "Children are people too!"

NEWBOLD MORRIS

Former president, of New York City Council and Chairman of Board of Directors of Youthbuilders

Richmond Citizen Group Wins Council Election

Following its overwhelming victory last November, when a council-manager charter was adopted, the **Richmond Citizens' Association**, Hugh R. Thompson, executive secretary, on June 8 elected eight of its candidates for the new city council which will take office in September. The one additional candidate elected was a Negro lawyer who supported the new charter.

The average vote for the nine candidates supported by the Citizens' Association was 14,000; the average vote for opposition candidates running for re-election was 4,900, the *Richmond News-Leader* reports. "Thus the poll for a change in men was 2.8 to 1—or almost precisely the ratio of the vote last November for the adoption of the charter (21,561 to 8,068)," comments the editorial.

"So notable a victory is a great tribute to the intelligence and the awakened interest of Richmond voters. There never was—and we have faith to believe there never will be—a time when the men and women of this city fail to act wisely if they are aroused.

"In this great matter of a new charter, the citizens were inspired to approve change at the instance of one of the most devoted organizations ever established in this city—the Richmond Citizens' Association. We could not find words that would overpraise the performance of the men and women who, for their city's welfare and in utter unselfishness, have

devoted themselves to the task of giving Richmond a charter and council that represents our best ideals. The magnificent work of L. H. Marlowe and of Edward Phillip, successive presidents, has been sustained by an army of honest, understanding comrades."

Council Manager Activities to the Fore

John A. Casstevens, secretary of the **Merced (California) Better City Government Headquarters**, reports that the organization used "every acknowledged means of promotion" in its successful campaign to secure election of a board of freeholders to draft a council-manager charter for the city. The organization furnished speakers to every club and organization in the city, it conducted a "genuine" house-to-house canvass, ran stories in the newspapers, obtained resolutions from organizations which provided good publicity. On election day it had 30 people canvassing, telephoning, touring the city and taking people to the polls. A loudspeaker urged citizens to vote. It is now providing the board of freeholders with information on the manager plan for its use in writing the new charter.

Five hundred citizens attended the **Community Forum** held in the Plainfield, New Jersey, High School, where Richard S. Childs, chairman of the council of the National Municipal League, spoke on council-manager government. The meeting was sponsored by the **Civic Affairs Department of the Chamber of Commerce**.

The newly elected president of the **Boston Chamber of Commerce**, C. Lawrence Muench, has pledged continuance of the drive to secure the manager plan for Boston.

The **League of Women Voters of East Hartford, Connecticut**, Mrs. Fred Litz, Jr., president, is continuing its

udy of the council-manager plan preparatory to issuing a report on the object.

Speaking at the town manager conference in Boston sponsored by the **New England Council**, Bradley P. DeWees, president of the Medford Plan Civic Association, commented that communities adopting Plan E government—council-manager form with proportional representation — must avoid any letdown in interest or educational activity. "Once the plan is adopted," he said, "you have reached one goal. Letdown is likely to result. You must set up new goals then, whether in education, financing or other fields, to carry ahead the work and give the community the greatest benefit of the work that has gone before."

Other speakers included John D. Langmuir, executive director of the New Hampshire Federation of Taxpayers Associations; Alfred M. Senter, president of the Brunswick, Maine, Chamber of Commerce; Herbert S. Murphey, president of the Hartford, Connecticut, Mechanics Savings Bank; Professor Morris B. Lambie of Harvard University's Graduate School of Public Administration, and Bernal B. Allen, city manager of Auburn, Maine.

The **Waltham, Massachusetts, League of Women Voters**, Mrs. Dilworth Lupon, president, which recently observed its tenth anniversary, has voted to study and to support Plan E for Waltham.

The **League of Women Voters of New Haven, Connecticut**, will discuss the council-manager and the strong mayor forms of government, each prescribed in drafts of proposed new charters, at a meeting addressed by Merle V. DeWees, executive secretary of the New Haven Taxpayers' Research Council. A number of local groups are sending delegates to the meeting.

Civic News In Brief

Mayor Charles P. Farnsley of Louisville and his department heads are holding weekly open hearings at city hall in order to give citizens a chance to "beef," according to *Southern City*. "I want to bridge the gap between the people and their government," says the mayor Hundreds of Yonkers women are being organized in a series of teas so they may vote more effectively and aid their city to grow under honest government, says Mrs. Milton W. Harrison, civic leader and temporary chairman of the group. . . .

The **Cleveland Citizens League**, Guy C. Larcom, Jr., director, has devoted an issue of *Greater Cleveland* to its "Activities Report" for the six months ending June 1948. . . . The **Sioux Falls, South Dakota, Chamber of Commerce** has made a parking survey of 121 cities in fifteen central states covering use of parking meters, traffic courtesy training for police officers, etc. . . .

The **Easton (Pennsylvania) Taxpayers**, Roscoe R. Heard, Jr., secretary, has been organized to promote interest in the city's government among its citizens, to study the functions of the city government, to develop and present to citizens and officials methods for improving these functions looking toward greater economy and efficiency. . . . The **West Dallas (Texas) Civic Association**, Charles R. Moore, president, has been organized for "the betterment of a section of the metropolitan area that has been too long neglected," reports the *Dallas Times-Herald*. . . .

By a vote of its executive committee the **Massachusetts Civic League**, Miriam Butler, executive secretary, has opened its membership to other organizations. . . . The **Portland (Oregon) City Club**, Margaret Clark, executive secretary, issued a 34-page bulletin reporting on

measures voted on at the May election. . . . The *Oregon Voter*, C. C. Chapman, editor, devoted several issues to reports on both election measures and candidates. . . .

The nine-membered board of trustees of the **Seattle Municipal League**, C. A. Crosser, executive secretary, was recently chosen by proportional representation mail ballot of members. Seventeen candidates were nominated, some 1,500 ballots cast. . . .

Alvin A. Burger, director of research of the National Association of State Chambers of Commerce, recently addressed the annual meeting of the **Detroit Citizens League**, Hale G. Knight, secretary, on "Citizen Interest in Government." . . . New Jersey's Governor Alfred E. Driscoll spoke on "Federalism—Now or Never," at the annual meeting of the **Connecticut Public Expenditure Council** on June 2. "Coming to Grips with Taxation" was the theme of the council's executive director, Carter W. Atkins. . . . E. W. Kiefer, chairman of the **Port Huron, Michigan, City Plan Commission**, presented the master plan to the annual meeting of the **Citizens' League**, Margaret Elliott, executive secretary, on May 24. Questions and answers followed the presentation. . . . The **Union Township (New Jersey) Taxpayer's Association** discussed its schools and township government at its annual meeting in May.

By unanimous action of its Board of directors, the **McMinn County Good Government League**, E. R. Lingerfelt, executive director, has made constitutional revision in Tennessee a part of its program. A recent issue of its *News Notes* carries an explanation of the plan of revision which has already been adopted by a number of organizations interested in the matter.

Home Rule

The problem of home rule for Indiana cities and towns is the theme of a kit prepared and distributed to local leagues by the **League of Women Voters of Indiana**, Mrs. John L. H. Fuller, president. Included are descriptions of city and county government under present laws with charts, how a city budget is made, criteria for measuring a city's efficiency, and material on home rule and the council-manager plan.

* * *

A Packaged Program

In connection with its "public service articles" published each month, the *Woman's Home Companion* issues "A Program Package for Women's Clubs" to aid in discussing subjects of vital interest to the community. "Suggestions for Action" consist of a dozen or more pages outlining comments for chairman and speakers, supplemented by a short bibliography. Some of the subjects covered include "Behind the Black Robes"—an exposé of what is wrong with our courts and judges, the injustices perpetrated, with suggestions for a cure; "Do You Know Your Neighbor"—what many groups are doing to make civic life more effective and more "American"; "Your Stake in World Peace"—our foreign policy and how to help formulate it; "Foul But You Drink It"—the condition of the water we drink, what can and should be done about it.

* * *

Racial Discrimination Challenged

Efforts of the Democratic party machine in South Carolina to sidestep the decision of the federal courts that Negroes must be allowed to vote in party primaries have been meeting with considerable opposition. The oath prescribed by the party's state executive committee, to be taken by those voting in party primaries, has been de-

ared a violation of well established constitutional provisions and "heinous and unacceptable to many of our citizens," in a resolution adopted by **Charleston County** organizations, including the **League of Women Voters**, and representing more than 4,500 individuals.

The oath reads in part: "I believe in and will support the social and educational separation of races. I further solemnly swear that I believe in the principles of states' rights and I am opposed to the proposed federal so-called FEPC law."

A six-point resolution, drawn up by group of citizens from all over the state, gives the state Democratic executive committee ten days to do something about eliminating the oath and sending delegates to the national convention to represent properly the people of South Carolina, threatening that, unless this is done, a party that does represent the people will be formed to send delegates.

* * *

Conferences Scheduled

A four-weeks workshop in community leadership, meeting July 5 to July 10, has been scheduled by the **School of Education of the University of Michigan**.

The second annual **New Jersey Institute on the Community** of the **New Jersey Citizens' Conference**, Mrs. Edna Howe Kuser, executive secretary, will be held at Rutgers University September 9-12. Planned are workshops on organization for over-all community development and round tables on community leadership, motivation, skills of building an informed and active citizenry, responsibility and use of press and radio, etc. The program will also include a dramatization of "New Jersey on Trial."

The **Institute of Community Leader-**

ship

ship, conducted by the **New York State Citizens' Council**, Frederick T. Rope, executive director, will be held at Cazenovia Junior College, Cazenovia, New York, September 8-11.

The **Fifth Annual Conference on the Small Community** met June 20-23 at the University of New Hampshire, Durham, under the auspices of **Community Service, Inc.**, Arthur E. Morgan, president and director.

* * *

Strictly Personal

Miss Anna Lord Strauss has been re-elected president of the **League of Women Voters of the United States**.

The Seattle Municipal League, at its 1948 annual meeting, elected **John N. Rupp** president. Mr. Rupp, an attorney, has been active in league affairs since 1940.

Fifth president of the Cincinnati City Charter Committee, chosen this spring by the Board of Directors, is **Harry J. Gilligan**, who last fall was general chairman of the committee's highly successful election campaigns.

Miss Lucia Taft, daughter of Cincinnati's Councilman Charles P. Taft, is responsible for the "leg work" involved in the latest City Charter Committee service, reports the committee's *News Letter*. A monthly bulletin to contributing supporters and volunteer workers is recording important doings in the city council and its committees.

At its annual meeting in April the **New York State Citizens' Council** elected **Dr. Edmund Ezra Day**, president of Cornell University, as its president, succeeding **Dr. Everett N. Case**, head of Colgate University.

Eugene A. Buzzell, executive secretary of the Yonkers Municipal League, has resigned to become director of the **New York State Citizens Public Expenditure Survey** and editor of its monthly *New York State Taxpayer*.

Proportional Representation . . .*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
and Wm. Redin Woodward**(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)***Boston May
Vote on P. R.*****First Election in Hopkins
P. R. Slated for Australia***

THE Boston charter act, passed by the 1948 Massachusetts legislature and signed by Governor Bradford on June 3, provides three optional forms of government on which the city may vote—Plans A, D and E.

Plan E provides for the council-manager form of government with proportional representation for the election of the city council and school board. It is similar to the optional charter also known as Plan E which has been available since 1938 for all cities in the state except Boston and adopted by Cambridge, Lowell, Medford, Worcester, Revere and Quincy. The town of Saugus voted for a similar charter last year under a special legislative act.

Plan D also provides for the council-manager form but prescribes the limited vote for the election of the council and school board. For the council of nine, chosen at large, each elector may vote for only six. This method was used in Boston from 1894 to 1898. It is intended to give some representation to the minority but actually gives no guarantee of this and requires regimented teamwork on the part of any group in order to be sure of representation.

Plan A provides for government under an elected mayor and a council of nine members elected at large by majority vote.

Inclusion of the limited vote principle in the Plan D charter brought forth much opposition in the senate,

overshadowing that body's usual protests against P. R. Writing in the *Boston Herald*, W. E. Mullins noted:

In recent years the great outcry by politicians against municipal reform has been aimed at the proportional representation voting system that is the backbone of the Plan E type of charter. This issue was scarcely mentioned in the senate's strident obfuscations over the limited voting system that was found to be so reprehensible in the Plan D type of charter. . . .

The reason need not be obscure. In last year's municipal elections the voters in Medford, Quincy, Revere and Worcester said they were not afraid of P.R. by voting to adopt Plan E charters. Accordingly, the politicians switched their hostility to Plan D and limited voting about which the people know little.

It requires only a moment's consideration to see through the insincerity of the great uproar that was raised against limited voting. While it was regarded as a vital part of Plan D, the chances that the Plan D charter will be placed before the voters on referendum are so remote as to be readily dismissed.

Only one of the three plans may be voted upon at any one election. The first to receive the endorsement of the required 10 per cent of the qualified voters by petition will take precedence over other proposals. The Plan E for Boston Committee, which has been campaigning vigorously for the past few years, is laying plans to circulate petitions in an effort to get a vote on Plan E in November 1949.

***Hopkins, Minn., Conducts
Its First P. R. Election***

Voters of Hopkins, Minnesota, held their first P. R. election—also the first

Minnesota—on May 18 under provisions of a council-manager charter adopted December 2 of last year. Terms of the newly elected mayor and council are for one year only. Hereafter elections will be held in odd-numbered years for regular terms of two years.

Election of the mayor, who is president of the council and its fifth member, was held separately by preferential ballot—the Hare system applied to a single office. Since at this election there were but two candidates transfers of ballots were necessary, one candidate with a majority of the votes being elected on the first count. The other four members of the council were chosen from six candidates by the Hare system of P. R. Two candidates had more votes than the necessary quota, 286, necessitating the transfer of their surpluses to lower offices marked by the voters.

Invalid ballots cast for mayor totaled only three out of 1,490 cast, or .2 per cent; those for councilmen were 67 out of a total of 1,492, or 4.5 per cent.

The counts were conducted at the city hall by a counting board of five under the direction of Carl Towley, a member of the city's high school faculty and of the commission which drafted the new charter. Mr. Towley commented that except for minor difficulties the count was satisfactory and demonstrated the practicability of

P. R. Time consumed in both the mayoralty and councilmanic count, for receipt of the ballots and counting of them," was six hours.

The new council will take office on July 1, choosing a city manager to conduct the administrative affairs of the city.

The Hare system of preferential voting will also be applied to the election of two municipal judges for staggered

terms of four years. The first election for this office will be held in 1949. The single judge elected then will serve alone until two years hence when a second will be chosen.

EDITOR'S NOTE.—Information on the Hopkins election has been taken from an article in the June issue of *Minnesota Municipalities*, organ of the League of Minnesota Municipalities.

P. R. Proposed for Australian Senate

The governing Labour party in the commonwealth of Australia has introduced a bill providing for the use of proportional representation in future elections of the senate. The measure, which proposes adoption of the single transferable vote method of P.R. (Hare system), has passed its second reading and its enactment is generally expected, according to John Fitzgerald, secretary of the Proportional Representation Society of Great Britain.

The reform will probably result in some reduction of the disproportionately large representation of the Labour party in the Australian senate (see this department for January 1947, page 49) and will also protect it against under-representation should the political pendulum swing the other way.

The *Standard*, a monthly published in Sydney, reports a meeting of Australian P.R. supporters at which a letter to Prime Minister Chifley was authorized to congratulate the Labour party upon its action and to recommend provision of certain details in the legislation, particularly the recount method of filling vacancies. The Prime Minister has since replied promising consideration of the suggestions.

The opposition parties, since they will at present benefit from the introduction of P.R., are presumably not opposing its use. One of them recently

blocked a proposal for P.R. in South Australia where it was in power (see this department for March 1948, page 171).

Massachusetts Episcopal Diocese Adopts P. R.

Proportional representation was adopted for diocesan elections at the 163rd annual convention of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts on April 14 in Boston. After hearing arguments for and against the resolution, a majority of both lay and clerical delegates voted for the measure.

Bishop Norman B. Nash favored the resolution but urged that "no delegate ought to be swayed by the easy argument: 'You ought to back up the Bishop.'"

The vote overruled a majority report of the Committee on Elections which opposed the resolution. Edward O. Proctor, one of the minority members of that committee in favor of the resolution, said: "This isn't a question of method; it's a question of principle. It is the only way the minority can be heard."

The use of P.R. for diocesan elections was first recommended to the Diocese of Massachusetts in 1939 by a Special Committee on Expediting Elections, which had been impressed by the experience of the Diocese of Long Island. The method of voting then used in Massachusetts tended to exclude representation of a certain minority opinion in the diocese which included about 25 per cent of the communicants.

The necessary steps for the adoption of P.R. were completed in 1941 and P.R. was used in the Massachusetts Diocese from 1941 until 1946. In 1946, when certain controversial issues were before the general convention, the majority, being opposed to representation of the minority opinion, succeeded in excluding it by eliminating the use of

proportional representation in diocesan elections. Reaction to that development appears to have been prompt, however, for preliminary adoption of an amendment in 1947 cleared the way for restoration of P.R. by the action taken in April of this year.

RESEARCHER'S DIGEST

(Continued from Page 389)
Payers Association, William H. Cunningham, executive director, says in *Your Business* which enumerates reasons for the present unsatisfactory conditions.

Lewis Dodson, director of the Denver Sanitation Division, explains the sanitary land fill method of garbage and refuse disposal in *Colorado Municipalities*, publication of the **Colorado Municipal League**, Allen E. Prichard, Jr., secretary.

Bureau Note

The **Governmental Research Association** will hold its 1948 conference at the Congress Hotel, Chicago, September 8-10.

Taunton - (Massachusetts) Association of Commerce, Larry M. Hess, executive secretary: third annual report covering the year ending May 3, 1947. The report notes the organization of a research department within the association early in 1948, of which Emil S. Skop has been appointed director. Issues of the Taunton group *Research Brevities* and other reports cover municipal budgets, state expenditures, comparative tax rates, contributory retirement system for municipal employees and long-range financial planning.

Jasper County Tax Economy Association (Carthage, Missouri), Gerald N. Hardy, secretary: annual report for year ending April 30, 1948, entitled *Conserving Your Tax Dollar in 1948*.

nty and Township Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Jefferson County, Ala., Consolidation on Ballot

State Voters Will Pass on Constitutional Amendment

CONSTITUTIONAL amendment to authorize city-county consolidation in Jefferson County, Alabama, will be submitted to the voters of the state in the general election on November 2. The largest city in the area is Birmingham. Specifically the amendment provides that "the legislature may, by general, or special law, provide any plan, and, manner or form of municipal government for Jefferson County and, whenever deemed necessary or advisable, may abolish city or town government and unite, consolidate or merge cities and towns and county, or a portion thereof, under one municipal government."

The consolidated government may levy and collect taxes as permitted for counties and "for the purpose of levying such taxes the legislature shall provide for the method and procedure of arranging, locating, changing or re-creating any portion or portions of such territory into urban districts."

The form of government to be prescribed by the legislature is subject to referendum of the qualified voters in the county and must be approved by a majority of those voting on the question.

The proposed amendment is an outgrowth of the report of a citizens commission, announced April 14 of this year, recommending that such consolidation take place.¹ Anticipating

adoption of the amendment in November, the Jefferson County legislative delegation has had drafted a proposed act providing for the consolidated government with a county manager in charge of administration. It is expected that public hearings will be held shortly.

Miami-Dade Consolidation Defeated by Voters

On May 25 a proposed constitutional amendment authorizing city-county consolidation in Dade County, Florida, was rejected by that county's voters by a vote of 28,337 to 23,526. The joint resolution proposing the amendment required approval by Dade County voters at the primary before it could be submitted to the voters of the entire state.

The rejected amendment authorized consolidation of the city of Miami, the county of Dade and five small towns into a new county of Miami which would be coterminous with the present Dade County. The other nineteen municipalities, including Miami Beach and Coral Gables, were to be preserved intact but could subsequently be merged with the new county government if their voters sanctioned such action at a referendum election.

A home rule charter for the new county was to be drafted by an elected charter board and submitted to the voters of the county for their approval.

A relatively weak campaign was conducted on behalf of the amendment. No field organization was set up and there was no intensive neighborhood solicitation. Most of the campaigning was conducted by a small group from

by Roscoe C. Martin, the REVIEW, July 1947, pages 367-370.

See "City-County Merger Proposed,"

the Miami Junior Chamber of Commerce which did a good job of speaking and pamphleteering. Both Miami newspapers gave strong support to the consolidation cause. The principal arguments for consolidation were (1) home rule, (2) elimination of duplication and buck-passing between governments, (3) better planning of improvements, (4) lower taxes, and (5) better law enforcement.

The opposition consisted mostly of suburbanites, particularly officeholders, who argued that consolidation would (1) bring about a "police state," (2) create a spoils system, (3) increase taxes, (4) impair law enforcement, and (5) pressure suburban municipalities into consolidation against their will. Suburban newspapers were strongly opposed to consolidation.

Constitutionality of the proposal and validity of the county referendum were upheld by the Florida State Supreme Court three times during the campaign when the anti-consolidationists tried to have the proposition ruled off the ballot.

Although 90,000 votes were cast at the election, only 52,000 persons voted on this proposition. According to the joint resolution, no further steps can be taken until some subsequent legislature submits a new constitutional amendment or enacts other legislation on the subject.

JOHN F. WILLMOTT, *Executive Director*
Dade County Research Foundation

More Communities Try City-county Cooperation

In Tennessee, Greeneville and Greene County are each contributing to the cost of a new high school building.

Hamilton County, Ohio, has established a Rural Zoning Commission as authorized by state legislation enacted a year ago. The Citizens Development

Committee now is urging that it work in close collaboration with the Cincinnati Planning Commission in the implementation of the Cincinnati Metropolitan Master Plan.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce of Dallas is studying the economic possibilities of both functional consolidation of specific activities and general consolidation of the governments of Dallas County and the city of Dallas.

Mayor James E. Decker of Newport, Kentucky, has proposed the merger of the city's health department with that of Campbell County. He reports that the city would save as much as \$20,000 annually through such action. The city is facing financial difficulties because of increased costs of operation and salaries, the mayor stated.

A law passed by the 1948 Michigan legislature permits counties and cities to finance county-city buildings by self-liquidating revenue bonds. Bonds issued are to be retired from the rents collected from the governmental units occupying the building. Construction and financing of the project are under local "authorities," whose powers are enumerated in the act. The act also permits action by cities or counties alone.

Montgomery County Proposal in Court

Opponents of the proposed management charter for Montgomery County, Maryland, have brought suit seeking an injunction to keep the question off the ballot next November. They allege that the provision permitting the county council to act on the budget at times other than during the "legislative" month is contrary to the county home rule article of the Maryland constitution.

Manager Charter Defeated Lane County, Oregon

After drawing the opposition of both Republican and Democratic party organizations, as well as that of labor leaders, a proposed manager charter for Lane County (Eugene), Oregon, defeated by referendum on May 20 by a vote of 16,323 to 10,300.

The new charter was considered an excellent one, combining the sheriff's, clerk's and all other administrative functions in the manager's office, but the campaign was accompanied by a vicious whispering attack on its proponents. The League of Women Voters was accused of inducing the 1945 state legislature to pass the enabling act permitting counties to adopt the manager plan¹ while "all the young men were off fighting the war." The proponents were accused of thinking they could "get some fellow from the university to run the government efficiently." Hitler, Mussolini, Russia, un-Americanism, dictatorship, and similar expressions were used to frighten the voters into opposing the plan. The charter association plans another attempt to secure a manager charter at the next opportunity two years hence.

new Hampshire Takes Action on Counties

The recent constitutional convention in New Hampshire,² adjourned on June 10, voted against two resolutions before affecting counties. One of them would have made it mandatory to abolish the county form of government by July 1, 1947; the other would merely delete in the constitution two articles relating to county officials. Both resolutions

received majority recommendations of "inexpedient" from the convention's executive department committee, which recommendations were upheld.

Delegate Perkins Bass of Peterborough and Manchester spoke for the resolutions. Referring to the second, he said:

"It would place the counties on the same basis as the towns and cities.

"There is nothing in the constitution relating to the government of towns and cities. By striking out articles 71 and 72 of the constitution you would not abolish the county form of government." Mr. Bass pointed out that under the present setup there is unnecessary triplication of many public services including relief and law enforcement.

A proposal for abolition of the counties had previously been made by the Concord *Monitor* which published a fourteen-page pamphlet,³ prepared by its editor, presenting the thesis that county government is no longer needed in that state. The paper first was written for delivery at the Sixth Annual Institute of Public Affairs at the University of New Hampshire. It reviews the history of counties and their government, analyzes their weaknesses, and outlines the methods by which they can be abolished.

Santa Clara County to Revise Charter

Voters of Santa Clara County, California, on June 1, elected a board of freeholders to draft a new county charter. The proposed new document will be submitted to the voters at the November election.

¹The End of an Era, County Government Has Become Obsolete in New Hampshire.

Taxation and Finance*Edited by Wade S. Smith*

New Taxes Spread in Pennsylvania

174 Local Units in 21 Counties Make Levies

LARGE-SCALE experimentation with new taxes by municipalities of all sizes is now going on in Pennsylvania, where the legislature last year granted local units powers of the broadest sort to levy new taxes. The number of instances of use of the new law grows constantly and the kinds of taxes imposed are also apparently endless, although excises of the sales or gross income type are evidently most common.

Something of the extent and diversity of the use of the law is indicated by a recent study by the Pennsylvania Government Administration Service, in its May Supplement to *The Borough Bulletin*, which acknowledges indebtedness to the Western Division of the Pennsylvania Economy League for some of the data.

The study relates only to 21 of the 67 Pennsylvania counties. In these counties 174 municipal units were, by April 1948, making some use of the legislation.

Amusement taxes appear to have been most common. In 37 of the western Pennsylvania units taxes were levied on tickets as a percentage of the admission price or, in a few instances, at a flat or graduated amount. Taxes at 10 per cent of the sales price were most prevalent, this rate being levied in Pittsburgh among other places. Other amusement taxes included per diem or annual charges for special types of amusements — pinball machines etc.

Income taxes were being levied in

28 units, while 49 had imposed per capita taxes and fifteen had levied mercantile tax. Sixty-three units were imposing or about to impose taxes on coal, the most common rate being five cents per ton.

Other Cities Act

Louisville, Kentucky, has passed an occupational license tax of 1 per cent on payrolls and net profits of businesses. Effective July 1 it will remain in force until 1950.

Youngstown, Ohio, has voted a 3-mill income tax. Springfield, Ohio, has adopted a 1 per cent income tax, effective July 1, which has a basic exemption of \$20 per week.

Legislation permitting St. Louis to levy a $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent income tax has been signed by Missouri's governor. The city is expected to take immediate action to place the tax, limited to two years, in effect.

Michigan Amends 15-Mill Tax Rate Law

In the closing days of its 1948 special session the Michigan legislature passed and the governor subsequently approved a law (S.B. 23) repealing the 15-mill tax rate limitation as it applied to cities. The 15-mill limit now applies to taxes for state, county, school and various stipulated special district purposes but excludes the taxes of those cities which, under the original 1933 law, had amended their charters to include the city levies within the limitation.

Under the amended law, those cities which had amended their charters to embrace the 15-mill over-all rate limitation will be allowed to levy 10 mills immediately, and will have restored to them the authority (which they can exercise, however, by amending their charters) of levying up to 20 mills.

several cities are affected: Battle Creek, Belding, Flint, Grand Rapids, Ionia, Jackson, Muskegon, Muskegon Heights, North Muskegon, Pontiac, Roosevelt Park and Saginaw.

The 15-mill limitation had been especially restrictive in its effect on those cities which had voted themselves subject to its provisions, and had resulted in a virtual stoppage of capital improvements except such as could be financed by special assessments. The amendment of the law is expected to permit most of the cities to carry out capital improvement plans with the use of borrowed funds for the first time since 1933.

Uniform Sales Taxes Approved by California Local Units

General uniformity in local ordinances imposing municipal sales taxes was commended by the uniform sales tax committee of the California League of Municipalities in a report approved by the group's board of directors late in April. The committee had been formed at the request of many cities and other groups to determine what changes in local sales tax ordinances were desirable to make enforcement of the local taxes easier for retailers and cities. Reporting on the findings of the committee, *Western City*, official organ of a group of leagues of cities including that of California, states that: "The complaints which caused the creation of the league committee were few but broad and, as determined after meetings with retailers, went to the levy of the tax rather than to any administrative problems Therefore, it seems clear at this time that there are no real complaints against sales tax ordinances so far as uniformity of provisions, administration or interpretation are concerned."

Chief complaint of the retailers was against use of the definition of the

word "sales" as contained in the California retail sales and use tax, a definition presently uniformly in use in the local ordinances. The original definition was retained in the final uniform model ordinance approved by the committee and league directors.

Five-Cent Fare Comes to an End

New Yorkers, last beneficiaries of the historic five-cent fare, join their brethren in paying "modernized" rates on July 1, when the subway and elevated turnstile slots will be changed to require a dime rather than the traditional nickel.

While higher wage and salary schedules for transit employees were the immediate cause of the increase, with the elimination of the transit deficit drain on a hard-pressed general operating budget a close second, the subway riders' new burden was considerably lightened by the prospect of new equipment to lessen congestion.

Increased Salaries for City Councilmen

In 61 cities of more than 5,000 population, councilmen received increases in salaries last year, reports the International City Managers' Association.

Among the large cities Philadelphia's councilmen have had their salaries increased from \$5,000 to \$7,500 while Buffalo councilmen now receive \$3,500 compared with \$2,500 formerly. Pittsburgh has the highest paid councilmen in the country. They receive \$8,000 per year. District commissioners in Washington, D. C., are paid \$9,000 but they are not exactly the same as councilmen.

Pay of councilmen in other big cities is: Los Angeles \$7,200, Chicago, Detroit and New York \$5,000, Cleveland \$3,000, Milwaukee \$2,786, Baltimore \$2,750, San Francisco \$2,400, Boston \$2,000 and St. Louis \$1,800.

Average pay for councilmen in the fourteen cities over 500,000 is now \$4,638 per year.

Though the average salary for councilmen in the 23 cities of the 250,000 to 500,000 population bracket is \$3,430, considerably below the largest cities' average, councilmen's pay in several of the secondary cities is definitely in the upper brackets. For example, Newark councilmen get \$7,500, while those in Birmingham receive \$7,000, New Orleans and San Antonio \$6,000, Cincinnati, Memphis and Portland, Oregon, \$5,000, Seattle \$4,800, St. Paul, \$4,500.

Notable council pay increases among smaller cities last year included Altoona, Pennsylvania, from \$4,000 to \$5,000; Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, from \$4,500 to \$5,000; Erie, Pennsylvania, from \$4,500 to \$6,000; and Lawrence, Massachusetts, \$2,500 to \$4,500.

Council pay increases covered by the survey do not include those resulting from changes in the form of local government, many of which occurred in 1947.

The association observes that commission cities generally pay higher salaries to councilmen because of the administrative duties they perform.

In many mayor-council and council-manager cities, on the other hand, salaries are nominal because councilmen generally are policy-makers only, who do not perform regular municipal administrative duties.

Councilmen in hundreds of small cities receive no pay at all. Therefore average councilmen's pay for the entire United States—counting all cities over 5,000 population—is only \$200 a year.

Milwaukee Uses Price Index in Making Assessments

The Milwaukee tax commissioner is utilizing a national price index in the appraisal of residential properties. By tying to this index the basic prices

used to compute building assessments, it is thought it will be possible in the future to make immediate adjustments of assessed values to changing market values.

In preparing the ground work for the current revaluation the city's tax commissioner contrasted sales prices with assessments for the period from 1940 to 1947, according to the National Association of Assessing Officials. The study showed that in 1940 sales prices were only 2.65 per cent above assessments while by 1948 sales prices had risen to 89.75 per cent over assessments.

Assessors making the revaluation are using a residential manual which establishes twenty major categories of residences and lists twelve types of construction. Among other aids developed are new depreciation schedules as well as methods of allowing for departures from class specifications, quality of construction, and unusual locations.

New Jersey Adopts Disability Insurance

The third state to adopt a plan for paying industrial workers when they are ill is New Jersey, reports the Council of State Governments. Its new law extends the state unemployment statute to provide sickness and disability benefits of from \$9 to \$22 per week up to 26 weeks. All workers now covered by the law will be eligible for sick pay beginning in January.

Under a federal enabling act of 1946, once the program begins New Jersey will be able to recapture \$50,000,000 in employee contributions to the Unemployment Compensation Commission. Some legislators estimate that annual sickness claims can be covered by the interest on this.

The other two states with such laws are Rhode Island and California.

Books in Review

The Inside Story of the Pendergast Machine by the Man Who Smashed It

By Maurice M. Milligan. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948. 281 pp. \$3.50.

For thirteen years, Kansas City, Missouri, was the black sheep among council-manager cities. Boss Pendergast had not opposed the coming of a new charter in 1925, had elected his ticket as usual and had given the mayoralship to a local, docile political hack who made his appointments and purchases on instructions from the real capitol of the city at party headquarters. Responsibility was clarified, no doubt, but the machine was a wide-open town, financed itself on preferences in contracts, patronage and sale of indulgences, and did not care. A crime survey in 1926 had found that in Kansas City "the criminal profession is not unduly hazardous."

Milligan, who had been city attorney and probate judge in nearby Richmond, became federal district attorney in 1934 through the influence of his brother in Congress and without obligation to the Pendergast machine. The machine's doings were outside the usual jurisdiction of his office. But the "Union Station massacre" in 1933 was a bloody attempt of Kansas City criminals to rescue a recaptured federal prisoner from F. B. I. men, one of whom was killed. That gave Milligan, with the endless patience of the F. B. I. behind him, his chance to enter the scene.

To get in on election frauds required more ingenuity. There was the "bloody election" of 1934 and a Palmer one in 1936 when "60,000 lost voters stalked through the hills." There were in two wards more voters than population, babies

and children included. A long-forgotten federal statute was found which penalized by as much as ten years' imprisonment two or more persons who "conspire to injure, oppress, threaten or intimidate any citizen in the free exercise or enjoyment of any right or privilege secured to him by the constitution or the laws of the United States." Milligan got indictments, made a quick grab to impound the ballots and found fraud galore. In the midst of this Senator Harry S. Truman tried to block Milligan's confirmation for re-appointment as district attorney.

Then came a break that revealed bribery of Pendergast by fire insurance companies in a \$9,000,000 rate reduction argument and the neglect by Pendergast to report the bribe on his income tax return, which landed Pendergast in prison and cracked up the machine.

Elections became honest, "cemetery commuters" no longer padded the vote, the machine was beaten in the municipal elections in 1940 and every time since and the council-manager government began to function in Kansas City in what is now the familiar pattern of honest efficiency with a career manager of successful experience in a smaller city in charge of administration.

Mr. Milligan's purpose in writing the book is to warn his fellow townsmen that another Pendergast is at work, that there were vote frauds again in 1946 when Slaughter was, according to the grand jury, counted out from nomination as Congressman followed by the burglarizing of the election commission's vault during the subsequent investigation and the stealing of the primary ballots held there as evidence to support 71 indictments.

Milligan's successor as district attorney and his superior, Attorney General Clark, found reasons for not invoking the federal power this time, and the latter was questioned about his inactivity by a senate committee. A certain unbroken complacence by President Truman in all matters relating to the machine which sent him to Washington is carefully documented and makes the future of Kansas City no brighter!

RICHARD S. CHILDS

Our City Government. By Dorothy Leonard Judd. Grand Rapids, League of Women Voters, (Watson Bldg., Fulton St. E.) 1948. xvi, 191 pp. \$1.25.

A fifth edition, for students and citizens of Grand Rapids, entertainingly and comprehensively reviewing every branch and aspect of the local government. Its interest to people elsewhere is as a remarkably fine model for similar manuals in other communities. Indeed, a parallel book well distributed and kept alive and up-to-date would be of vast usefulness in any city, although persons like Mrs. Judd, who would make a labor of love of the task of editing and circulating it, are rare.

The volume starts in crisp and chatty fashion with the first beginnings of the city in the 1820's and uses narrative rather than exposition all the way through when the data permit that more communicative and enticing form of writing. In spite of its being a manual including dull as well as juicy subjects for the sake of completeness, the high school boy or a citizen seems likely to sit down and read it all the way through, so swift and objective is the handling of the topic.

For high school civics classes such a local handbook in readable and illustrated form fills a gap. Standard text

books deal with national and state governments and the general political scene, but when they reach the municipal scene they obviously must deal in generalities, for they cannot get down to each single city and its charter and functions. The local government which commonly comes first in the interest of citizens, is necessarily dealt with without specificity or objectivity, with such improvisation of local data as the teachers may have the gumption to assemble.

In progressive schools little children are introduced to geography by making a chart of the street plan of their immediate neighborhood, then inquiring beyond that to learn what lies just over their familiar horizon, and so on toward the cosmos. Civics, if provided with material like this in each locality could profitably work outward the same way. A truly solid grounding in the local scene would provide basis for more confident exercise of citizen curiosity and participation in public problems whose scale is not so great and remote as to abash and deter humble individual initiatives.

R. S. C.

Buffalo: Your City. By Alice Ennis Glazier and Edwin F. Rundell. Buffalo Foster and Stewart Publishing Corporation, 1947. vii, 255 pp. \$2.

A new textbook for the school children of Buffalo devoted to the economics, government and services of that city alone. Good photographs and rather primitive text. Every city has use for such a local text.

Not as good or as adult as the corresponding book issued for ninth-grade school children by the League of Women Voters of Grand Rapids, Michigan, under the enlightened pioneer editorship of Dorothy Leonard Judd.

Community Services and Public Housing. Report by the Joint Committee on Housing and Welfare. Chicago 37, National Association of Housing Officials, 1947. 13 pp.

The necessity of providing community services in connection with public housing projects so as to integrate them with the social and economic life of the city, is urged by a committee which represents the National Association of Housing Officials, American Public Welfare Association, American Association of Social Workers, Family Service Association of America, and the National Council of Housing Associations. Its findings and recommendations are embodied in this study.

Six specific types of services are analyzed—social planning and coordination; health, education and recreation; economic assistance; civic participation and individual social adjustment. Provision of these services is described as a four-way program involving housing authorities, community agencies, the community at large and, of course, the active cooperation of the tenants themselves. Recognition of the joint responsibility should involve definite agreements between the housing authority and the cooperating agency, specifying the exact obligations of each.

H. M. O.

The Development of the Constitution.

Percy T. Fenn. New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1948. xix, 3 pp. \$5.

A collection of the great constitutional interpretations of the United States Supreme Court, with texts of opinion in arrangement for undergraduate students of constitutional law.

A National Plan for Public Library Service. By Carleton B. Joeckel and Amy Winslow (with a chapter by Lowell Martin). Chicago, American Library Association, 1948. xiii, 168 pp. \$3.

An interesting report of the association's Committee on Postwar Planning, looking toward correction of the fact that 35,000,000 of our people have no access to a public library and proposing that the states organize to find and fill the gaps, geographical and qualitative, under stimulation of a better financed Library Service Division in the United States Office of Education.

American Municipal Government and Administration. By Stuart A. MacCorkle. Boston, D. C. Heath and Company, 1948. ix, 630 pp. \$4.25.

A comprehensive review of almost everything relating to American municipal government, including departmental administration practice; disclosing, among other things, a most commendable attention to the publications of the National Municipal League.

It brings a complete range of subjects uniformly down to date in objective fashion and will undoubtedly find extensive use as a college textbook.

Additional Books and Pamphlets

Civil Rights

The More Perfect Union. A Program for the control of inter-group discrimination in the United States. By R. M. MacIver. New York City, The Macmillan Company, 1948. vii, 311 pp. \$4.

These Rights Are Ours to Keep. By Jerome Ellison. New York 16, Public Affairs Committee, 1948. 31 pp. 20 cents.

Council-Manager Government

Recent Council-Manager Developments and Directory of Council-Manager Cities. Chicago 37, The International City Managers' Association, 1948. 20 pp. \$1.

Debt

Governmental Debt in 1947. Washington, D. C., U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1948. 11 pp.

Public Health Programs

Evaluation Schedule for Use in the Study and Appraisal of Community Health Programs. Guide to the Evaluation Schedule. By Committee on Administrative Practice. New York 19, American Public Health Association, 1947. 54 pp. and 36 pp. respectively.

Health Practice Indices 1943-46. A collection of charts showing the range of accomplishments in various fields of community health service. Compiled from the evaluation schedules submitted for the years 1943 through 1946. New York 19, American Public Health Association, 1947. 77 pp.

Metropolitan Areas

The Growth of Metropolitan Districts in the United States: 1900-1940. By Warren S. Thompson. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1948. vi, 61 pp. 30 cents.

Planning

Progress in City Planning. Progress the last 100 years; action 1940-1949; plans for 1948; organization the next 100 years. San Francisco, Department of City Planning, 1948. 24 pp. illus.

Proposed Cultural Center Plan. Detroit, City Plan Commission, 1948. 28 pp. illus.

Rent Control

State Rent Control Laws. An analysis of the statutory provisions. By Carrie E. Hunter. Washington, D. C., The Library of Congress, Legislative Reference Service, 1948. 77 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Balances in State General, Highway and Postwar-Reserve Funds in 1947. Washington, D. C., U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1948. 11 pp.

Compendium of City Government Finances in 1946. The 397 cities covered are those having 1940 populations over 25,000. By U. S. Bureau of the Census. Washington 25, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1948. viii, 118 pp. 45 cents.

The Picture of the National Debts. New York 7, Tax Institute, *Tax Policy*, March 1948. 16 pp. 25 cents.

The Principle of Equalization Applied to the Allocation of Grants in Aid. By Byron L. Johnson. Washington 25, D. C., Federal Security Agency, Social Security Administration, 1947. xiv, 225 pp.

Summary of State Government Finances in 1947. Washington, D. C., U. S. Bureau of the Census, 1948. 16 pp.

Taxpayers' Guide. Tax Rates and Legal Requirements. Compiled under supervision of J. M. Lowery. Los Angeles, County Auditor's Office, 1947. 113 pp.

Why Expanded Payrolls in Michigan. A Study of Causes 1942-1947. Lansing, Michigan Civil Service Commission, Research and Survey Division, 1948. 149 pp.

Town Government

Digest of 1948 Laws Affecting Towns. Albany, Association of Towns of the State of New York, 1948. 28 pp.

Traffic

Traffic Engineering Functions and Administration. Prepared by Joint Committee of American Association of State Highway Officials, American Public Works Association, Institute of Traffic Engineers. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1948. x, 137 pp.